

**ARTHUR RANSOME: DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA,
1917-1924.**

**VOLUME II.
1918.**

J.M.GALLANAR, EDITOR.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

ARTHUR RANSOME

Perhaps better known for his Swallows And Amazon books written in the 1930's and 1940's, Arthur Ransome was a literary critic and a political journalist in his early years. Arriving in Russia in 1913, he became by 1915 a correspondent for the [London] Daily News and Leader initially reporting on Russia's role in World War I. He soon became absorbed in the Russian political scene and eventually the Russian Revolution and what followed. He reported to the Daily News and Observer and subsequently the Manchester Guardian and briefly the New York Times. In addition his reports appeared in the New York Herald and the Baltimore Sun. His dispatches also appeared in the [London] Star, the sister newspaper for the Daily News. His knowledge of Russian gave him direct access to the Bolshevik leadership. He remained in Russia except for brief trips to England. During much of the central part of this period he also spent much time in the border state as he followed the revolution and the movements for independence which flowed from the Bolshevik Revolution across Russia's borders. Ransome was the only Western journalist to follow these events through this entire period and is therefore a major resource for our knowledge of these events.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924..

DEDICATION.

FOR:

THE MEMORY OF MALCOLM C. GALLANAR.

1958-2015.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

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I WISH TO THANK THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATION FOR ALL THEY HAVE HELPED ME ON THIS PROJECT.

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DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Ransome's journalistic reporting has been drawn from the following newspapers:

[London] Daily News.

[London] Observer.

Manchester Guardian.

New York Times [US]

His articles sporadically appeared for very brief periods in the following newspapers.

New York Herald

Baltimore Sun

[London] Star.

The Star was the evening sister newspaper of the Daily News and carried the same articles. The American Papers used his articles from the Daily News.

One very important acknowledgement. Without Wayne Hammond's very excellent bibliography entitled ARTHUR RANSOME, A BIBLIOGRAPHY a work of this kind could not have been done.

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TEXT NOTES.

The TEXT was reproduced from computer disks which in turn were reproduced from microfilm.

1. Newspaper Initials used.

DN. Daily News.

O. Observer.

MG. Manchester Guardian.

NYT. New York Times.

2. In a very few cases Hammond's page reference is incorrect. This has been noted.

3. In some cases the dispatch or parts of it were blurred and unreadable as a result of the photograph process when copying the original from the microfilm process. This has been noted.

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VOLUME II

DISPATCHES FOR 1918.

DN. January 1, 1918.

Separate Peace Danger.

M. Trotsky and the Germans.

Words of Warning To The Allies.

Petrograd, Monday.

I wonder whether the English people realize how great is the matter now at stake and how near we are to witnessing a separate peace between Russia and Germany, which would be a defeat for German democracy in its own country, besides ensuring the practical enslavement of Russia.

A separate peace will be a victory not for Germany, but for the military caste in Germany. It may mean much more than the neutrality of Russia. If we make no move it seems possible that the Germans will ask the Russians to help them in enforcing the Russian peace terms on the Allies. It is not encouraging to find half of my hotel piled up with crates of provisions stamped Berlin.

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The German Delegation, expecting immediate famine here, brought their own stores.

M. Trotsky is well aware of the danger, and though faced with the necessity of concluding peace, is leaving no stone unturned to stimulate a revolution in Germany. The fraternization on the front has already passed beyond the control of the enemy officers. Enormous quantities of revolutionary newspapers printed in German are being distributed. An illustrated supplement contains, among others stimulating matter, a photograph of the German Embassy here, with a huge banner across it, inscribed: "proletariat of all lands, unite." Underneath is written: "these are the words of a German. Did Hindenburg say them? Did Ludendorff? No. They are the words of Karl Marx. We shall be sending a Russian workman to live in the Russian Embassy in Berlin. When will you send us a German workmen as ambassador to Petrograd?"

I am convinced that our only chance of defeating the German designs is to publish terms as near the Russian terms as possible, and by taking a powerful hand in the proposed Conference to help at the same time the democratic movement in Germany and the Russians forcing the German Government in the direction which it, partially under pressure from below and partially with a cunning view to the future, has had to take.

It is perfectly clear that we shall be unable to compete with Germany in Russia under the conditions that will prevail in case of a separate peace. With regard to the immediate future I consider any radical change unlikely.

Whatever party should be in power it would have to conclude peace, and M. Trotsky's manner of doing so is likely to do more damage to Germany than would be done by any more respectful and polite person in his place. The nationalization of the tanks puts

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a weapon almost more powerful than the guillotine in the hands of the Government, and will probably put [remainder of sentence unreadable]. Any forcible overthrow of the Government would mean anarchy, that which the Germans could desire nothing better. I regard as more probable the continuance of the gradual leavening of the Ministry by means of other parties, but of somewhat similar views.

DN January 2, 1918.

Junker Tactics: German Designs On Poland, Lithuania & Courland.'

NO REPORT ON PAGE 1.

DN. January 4, 1918.

Russia's Break With Germany.

"Falseness and Cynicism" of Peace Conditions.

New Move In Berlin.

Mr. Ransome Says Conference May be Resumed at Stockholm.

[The accuracy of the Special Correspondent of "The Daily News" in Petrograd has been completely confirmed. Telegraphing on New Year's Day, Mr. Ransome declared in a message of the most arresting interest and importance that information obtained by him from confidential sources in regard to the breaking off of peace negotiations demonstrated beyond doubt the honesty of purpose of the Bolshevik Government, which have been widely impugned in this country and elsewhere.]

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Forty eight hours later this statement is confirmed in the fullest sense, and facts now to hand from other sources show that our correspondent did not mistake the sources of his information.

M. Trotsky has now denounced formally and in scathing terms "Germany's hypercritical peace proposal," and if any doubt remained as to the real aims of the present Russian Government it would be removed by the very remarkable article in the new organ of the Revolutionary Government printed below, headed, "The Mask Torn Off."

In a further message of yesterday's date Mr. Ransome gives interesting details of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. He says that there is a belief that the German delegates, acting on new instructions from Berlin, will in the end yield to the Russian demands, and that the conference may be resumed at Stockholm.]

Will Germany Yield?

Two Rival Influences at. Brest-Litovsk.

Petrograd, Thursday.

From a source which has hitherto proven reliable I learned the following suggestive details concerning the peace negotiations.

Two perfectly distinct tendencies were noticeable in the enemy delegation – one annexationist, represented by Hoffmann; The other, more moderate, represented by Kuhlmann and Czernin.

There were frequent disputes between these two tendencies, settled in each case by appeal to Berlin. Berlin, without exception, supported Czernin and Kuhlmann. Hoffmann takes the purely military point of view, and more than once complained with great

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bitterness of the Russian use of the armistice to agitate among the German soldiers.

With regard to an exchange of prisoners, the Russians have definitely stated that they will not give up to Germany the German soldiers prisoners of war in Russia until peace is actually signed, as they cannot be sure that the soldiers would not be sent to the French and English fronts.

There is a belief among the Russian delegation that Germany will yield to the Russian demands with regard to Poland and Lithuania, in order not to lose the advantage she gains both in Germany and outside by seeming to agree with Russia, while the Allies disagree.

The reasons for the desire that any further negotiation should be in Stockholm are dual. Firstly, there is the desire for greater publicity; and, secondly, "while we recognize that Stockholm is not very neutral, it, anyhow, is more neutral than the German Headquarters."

**Delegates Report.
Wednesday.**

I was present last night at a general meeting in the Smolny Institute to hear M. Kameneff's on the peace negotiations. To realize the dramatic significance of that meeting it should be remembered that it was composed of men who since the revolution have been steadily fighting for peace. The great White Hall on the floor in the Smolny Institute was crowded with men, very few of whom possessed the information which I telegraphed yesterday that negotiations had already been stopped on the point of radical disagreement.

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M. Kameneff read his report showing that the Germans had tried to bind Russia to herself by a renewal of the treaty of 1904, the refusal to renew which on the part of the Czar was one of the causes which led to the war. Germany made several alternative proposals all with the object of securing for herself the position of the most favored nation.

The Rupture.

The Russians replied with the single statement that they were in favor of equality in trade, and that they could not at the very moment when they were engaged in industry, nationalizing banks, etc. ??? to principles which were contrary to Socialism. On this point the Germans seem to have climbed down, as they can well afford to do considering the immense advantage given them by the mere fact of proximity.

On this second point the discussion ended. This was the point in which the Germans say disclosed her intention of retaining, under the pretext that self definition had already been accomplished, Poland and Lithuania. M.Kameneff, afterreading the uncompromising reply of the Russians, continued with the statement that if Germany now moves troops against revolutionary Russia it will be clear to everybody that this is done with a view to the final enslavement of Poland, Lithuania, and other countries, and that this act will be the spark that will instantly cause an explosion that will destroy German Imperialism.

Russia Uncompromising.

There then followed a series of speeches from the soldier delegates. Most of these described the appalling conditions of the Army, but one and all asserted the willingness of the men to continue the war even under desperate conditions unless the

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Germans agree to a democratic peace on the lines demanded by the Soviet.

Finally, a resolution was unanimously passed approving the action of the peace delegates, and stating that the German Government had refused to recognize the right of self – definition of the oppressed nationalities and colonies seized before the war, and further refuses to guarantee the removal of troops from occupied territory. Self – definition, in such circumstances, could be only a definition of the will of the privileged groups and classes. "We declare that the Russian Revolution remains true to its international policy. We stand for the real self – definition of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland. We will never recognize as just the forcing of the will of strangers on any people whatsoever."

They also insisted that future peace negotiations should be in a neutral country, and they addressed appeals to the peoples of the Central Empires to use pressure on their Governments to ensure that the policy of "no annexations and no indemnities" should be made actual instead of secretly annexationist. They also asked the same from the people of Germany and from the working classes of the Allies.

NYT, January 5, 1918.

[This is Ransome's first report to the New York Times]

**Bolsheviki Seek To "Expose" Germany:
Asking awkward Questions and Commenting on Imperialist Aims.**

Petrograd, January 4.

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The Bolsheviki continue their policy of raising questions which are awkward for the German Government and will tend also to raise criticism of that Government in Germany. Thus, not content with demanding the release of imprisoned German Socialists, they now object to the deportation of 300,000 Polish civilians for forced labor in German factories. The Germans declared themselves insulted, and said not more than 5,000 Poles had been removed, and that, anyhow, such questions lay outside the competency of the delegation.

Meanwhile, the official organ of the Bolsheviki Government, while not forgetting that it accuses the Allies of imperialistic aims, is conducting a systematic campaign of exposure of German imperialism. Referring to the "great difficulties put in the way of democratic peace by German annexationists," they continue:

"Tomorrow will show how far Austria and Turkey are prepared, or rather how far they are capable in the present circumstances of supporting to the end the annexationist demands of Germany. Tomorrow will also show how far the Government of Germany itself is able and willing to end those demands which exclude the possibility of a conclusion of peace."

The Austro-German delegation here pretend to have information that the Allies have decided to break off all relations with Russia. Their object in saying this is obvious. Further, in spite of precautions taken by the Bolsheviki they, through a neutral diplomat, are attempting to get into communication with the members of the Constituent Assembly again. 'Their object is obvious. The parties opposed to the Bolsheviks are fully prepared to profit by the Bolshevik refusal of peace except on the Bolshevik terms, to tell the people " they promised peace and gave you war."

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I very much fear that Germany will find the Constituent Assembly much more amenable than the Bolsheviks in the matter of concluding peace. The newspapers of the parties, opposed to the Bolsheviks, without exception emphasize simultaneously Russia's inability to fight, and the fact that the Bolsheviks have not secured peace. As Trotzky says, "The bourgeoisie is prepared to give away half the country if only it can have the governing of the other half."

In the same way it is for the moment in German interest and not ours that the Ukrainian Rada should withstand the Bolsheviks, because the Rada is not committed to a theory like the Bolsheviks and therefore is willing to strike a bargain.

If Germany wants a peace with Russia on the annexationist line, then the Bolsheviks are for her, as for many Russian parties, the enfants terribles, whose very caresses are dangerous.

NYT. January 5, 1918.

Extensive quotes from Ransome.

**Avers No Russian Wants Separate Peace:
To Suggest It Is Like Calling Englishman a Pro-German, Says
Ransome.**

London, January 4.

[Arthur Ransome, whose dispatches from Petrograd to The London Daily News, throwing considerable and favorable light on: the activities of the Bolsheviks and containing detailed information on the progress of the Russo-German negotiations, have recently

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attracted attention, is an Englishman who has long been resident in Russia. He has written several books on that country, and translated the works of the leading Russian authors into English. He was appointed Petrograd correspondent of The Daily News a year and a half ago. He came to London a brief visit a month ago, and while here endeavored to correct many of the views that he found were held of this revolution. He believed that the prospect of famine was one of the dominating factors in the Russian situation. Replying to a question whether there was any ground for belief; that there was a movement for a separate peace in Russia, Mr. Ransome said:]

“There is not one of the many parties in Russia, indeed I do not know of any individual that is in favor of a separate peace. In any controversy there is no more abusive thing than can be said against any one than the suggestion that he wants, separate peace. It is like calling a man pro -German in England.

What everybody wants is a general peace. It is not that the people expect peace to bring them the things they most desire, but they know that until they get peace they cannot get anything else that they want. Until peace comes they cannot even make the beginning of a resettlement of the affairs of the country on the new lines for which the abolition of Czardom has given them the opportunity.

"It is the refusal of the Allies to co-operate in the movement for general peace that is mainly responsible for what recently happened in Russia. If Lord Lansdowne's letter had been written in the summer, or, rather, if the Allied Governments had done in the summer what Lord Lansdowne now urges them to do, the whole course of events in Russia would have been different. In the summer Kerensky fully expected that the Paris conference to be held in the Autumn would be concerned with the aims of the war.

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The Stockholm conference, which, by the way, was opposed by the Bolsheviki, was to be an unofficial one, while the Paris conference on the same subject was to be one at which the Governments themselves were represented."

In reference to the charges that Lenine was a German agent, Ransome said:

"It is strange that the alleged evidence against him was never produced at a time when his enemies could have utilized it to drive him out of the country a few months ago when he was in a minority, but the Cadets were afraid of his growing influence. They would have been glad indeed to get hold of any such evidence in order to get rid of him.

"There is no doubt that he is a native of Russia. A brother of his was executed for taking part in the plot against Czar Alexander. It may or not be true that he originally had a German name, but that proves nothing. In Russia not only German Jews but nearly all Russian Jews have German names."

O. January 6, 1918.

The Bolsheviks.

German Intrigues With Other Parties.

Trotsky's Defiance.

Constituent Assembly And Peace.

Petrograd, January 3.

The great event of the week was the meeting at the Smolny Institute, when the Peace negotiations was read, showing how

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Germany tried to interpret the Russian formula to its own advantage with regard to Poland and Lithuania. It was explained how the Russians had, at this point refused further discussion and practically offered Germany an ultimatum.

This policy was approved by the meeting. M. Trotsky roused the audience to enthusiasm by declaring that if necessary Russia would continue the war. He explained that by taking this line in the negotiations the German Government had forced the Russian Army into the position of being the first army in the world to fight for Socialism, and only for Socialism. He proclaimed a Holy War, and man after man from the front, while emphasizing the appalling condition of the armies, declared the readiness to fight.

M. Trotsky has put the Germans in the awkward position of having either to reduce their demands or to ask the German soldiers to march against the Revolutionaries, who are defending the formula actually approved by the majority in the German Reichstag. That is the international position.

Meanwhile, the internal position is extraordinary. The Bolsheviks at the present moment are the only articulate war party in Russia. The other parties are prepared to profit by this to destroy the Bolshevik hold on the soldiers, saying that the Bolsheviks "have promised peace and have given you a sword instead." Intrigues are going on indirectly between the Austro – German Mission here and the political parties other than the Bolsheviks. Obviously Germany would rather deal with the Constituent Assembly of a country ready for peace than with the determined idealists who are ready only for a peace that shall not belie their idealist theories. If the Bolsheviks fall Germany will have a very much easier task. Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks, true to their theories, are just as uncompromising and hostile to Allied Governments as to

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the German Government. Nor, even if they continue the war, will it be easy for us to help them.

The Constituent Assembly may meet in a fortnight's time. If it throws out the Bolsheviks, it's first act will be to press for peace, and it will take whatever peace it can get.

Meanwhile Russia, as a whole, is in the same condition as England was during the war between Cromwell and the King, except that all the opposing forces are tired of fighting generally, and fraternize on the slightest provocation, to the despair of their commanders.

There is less and less food, and prices have increased more than a 1000% since the beginning of the war. Railway traffic, already greatly disorganized, is being brought to a standstill by snow, internal war, and the disorderly masses of returning soldiers. This is one of the earliest and hardest winters people can remember.

NYT. January 7, 1918.

Bolsheviki May Help Allies Best:

Impression in Capital That Constituent Assembly Would Be More Amenable to Germans.

Enemy Envoys Humiliated:

Russian Delegates Confounded and Discomfited Them at Brest-Litovsk Parley.

Dispatch to The London Daily News.

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Petrograd, January 5.

I went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to see Radek, who is taking, a prominent part in the discussions with the Austro-German delegation. There I found him, a little, light-haired, spectacled goblin or, brownie, with incredible intelligence and vivacity. He was very ready to talk. He gave me some amusing sidelights on the trials of the enemy delegation.

He described how Count von Mirbach announced solemnly that he had heard from his Government in the matter of the arrested Socialists and that this had been greatly exaggerated, since as a matter of fact only eight Socialists had been arrested. Radek replied "That is not what we find in German newspapers." He read from a folded copy of a German newspaper an account of the arrests of the Socialist Community in Cologne and a number of other places.

"The newspapers often lie," said Mirbach.

Radek unfolded the newspaper, showed its title, and said:

"But this in your own Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung."

Radek described with glee the discomfiture of the Germans on finding that the Russians had protocols not only of the Reichstag debate but also of the secret sitting of the Budget Committee. He told me how when the Russians refused to discuss any further business until the matter of the deported Polish laborers had been settled, a German Colonel said: "Then we may as well go."

Radek replied: "Yes, if you, wish to tell the German workingmen classes that you broke off the negotiations with the Russian

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workmen because they insisted on fair dealing; with the Polish workmen."

"We have plenty more unpleasant questions for them," said Radek. "We brought two whole boxes from Stockholm full of material on all points-on their colonies, for example, and their treatment of the Herreros."

The discussion next turned on other matters. Radek told me how the Bolsheviki are definitely strengthening the front, intending to send home all who do not wish to fight, and so produce an army that will fight for an ideal. All unemployed workmen are to be trained for the revolutionary army. All persons owning or renting rooms or flats above 200 rubles monthly are to be called upon for boots for the soldiers of the revolution.

I asked what in case off actual war, would be their attitude toward help from the Allies. Radek replied:

"We do not want their help. Our strength lies in our significance, and if we accepted help from the imperialistic Governments our significance would be destroyed. The weaker we are the stronger we are. They can drive us back, but what good will it do them. The country behind the front is stripped bare already. There is not food for a horse there. They will not want so many million starving people on their hands. What can the Germans do We stand for a democratic peace, so do the German working classes.

" If the German Government attacks they will be doing so obviously not in self-defense. They will show themselves in their true light to their own people."

I said: "You seem very sure of the position in Germany"

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He replied: "I have spent many years there and I know."

An article in an official paper includes a German secret document of May 20, 1915, setting out the conquests which Germany then considered desirable. Referring to General Hoffmann's suggestion at Brest-Litovsk that the Germans would not evacuate conquered territory in Russia during the war because of munition factories established there, the writer of the article says:

"The Russian proletariat and Russian revolutionary army will not suffer German Imperialists to laugh at the principle of self-definition of nationalities and to retain occupied parts of Russia solely in order to prepare as many shells as possible with which to slaughter the French, English, and Italian proletariats. Revolutionary Russia will never sign a peace document which denies the principle of self- definition."

The writer further says that one result of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations is that it is now clear what are the annexationist plans of the Central Empires.

The Bolsheviks are definitely prepared to hold their position, and if they are thrown out it will be by parties less definitely committed to their principles, and therefore readier to make separate peace.

I have talked with members of other parties, who invariably emphasize the fact that the Bolshevik theories make peace impossible. On being asked what they would do they reply:

"Bring pressure to bear on the Allies with a view to a general peace."

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On being asked what if the Allies decline to be pressed, they invariably make the statement that Russia is not in a condition to carry on the war.

I fear that if the Constituent Assembly meets on the day appointed, Jan.18, it will ease the task of the Germans.

DN. January 7, 1918.

**Germans "Cornered".'
Sidelights on the Brest Negotiations.**

Petrograd, Saturday.

I went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to see M. Radek, who is taking a prominent part in the discussions with the Austro – German Delegation here. I found him, a little – light – haired, spectacled revolutionary goblin, or brownie, with incredible intelligence and vivacity. He was very ready to talk, and gave me some amusing sidelights on the trials of the enemy delegation.

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Strengthening The Front.

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Discussion next turned on other matters, and Radek told me how the Bolsheviks are definitely strengthening the front, intending to send home all who do not wish to fight, and to produce an army that will fight for an ideal. All unemployed workmen are to be trained for the Revolutionary Army. All persons owing or renting rooms or flats above 200 rubles monthly are to be called upon to provide warm clothing and boots for the soldiers of the Revolution.

In The Event Of War.

I asked in case of actual war what would be their attitude towards help from the Allies. Radek replied: "We do not want their help. Our strength lies in our significance, and if we accepted help from Imperialistic Governments our significance would be destroyed. The weaker we are the stronger we are. They can drive us back, but what good will it do them? The country behind the front is stripped bare already. There is not food for a horse there. They will not want so many millions starving people on their hands. What can the Germans do? We stand for democratic peace. So do the

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German working classes. If the German Government attacks us they will be doing so obviously not in self-defense. They will show themselves in their true light to their own people."

I said: "You seem very sure of the position in Germany." He replied: "I have spent many years there, and I know."

NYT. January 9, 1918.

Trotsky Distrust Allies:

Thinks They Want Him to Give In to Berlin, and Make Peace.

Thus Helping Their Ends:

Bolsheviki Will Fight, He Asserts, Unless Terms Desired Are Accepted By Teutons.

Says Their Troops Rebel:

Jump from Trains When Sent West Confirms Report of 25,000 entrenched.

Dispatch to The London Daily News.

Petrograd, January 6

I had a hurried talk with Leon Trotzky, the Bolsheviki Foreign Minister, at the Smolny Institute just as, after a final consultation with the Russian members of the peace delegation, he was starting for Brest-Litovsk.

He was leaving with the mistaken conviction that the Entente Governments wanted Germany to succeed in making an advantageous separate peace with Russia so that guarding herself in the east she might agree more willingly to surrender what the

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Allies want in the west. The Allies would then blame the Bolsheviki for the lost freedom of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland. He was under the impression that Lloyd George had made a statement that allowed such an interpretation.

I assured him that he was mistaken, but he was difficult to convince. He said: " That is the allied policy."

I asked his opinion of a possible International labor conference to deride the conditions of peace. He said: "It would do no harm."

I asked whether the Bolsheviki would fight in case the Central Powers refused to accept the decisions of that conference. He replied:

"The, question is not fairly put, for it does not guarantee that the Entente Governments would accept decisions of that conference's rulings. In any case the Bolsheviki will fight independently of the rulings of such a conference unless they coincide with .the democratic peace desired by Russia. The attitude of the Bolsheviki would not be influenced by the attitude of the allied Governments, but only by the attitude of the allied peoples."

I asked him what his own hopes were for a general and acceptable peace and whether he thought the Germans desired such a peace. He said:

"It is difficult to say, because Germany has not yet been offered a chance of a general acceptable peace. But they must need it. Today four German deserters came to me, a Lieutenant and three soldiers, and told me of the difficulty the Germans have moving troops from this front. They have given up trying to move large units. They take the men one at a time and the men, knowing where they are going to be sent, jump out of the train and escape.

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At this minute in the Kovno district, behind the German front, there are 25,000 German deserters concentrated together and armed with machine guns. The Germans have surrounded them, and being unable to get their own men to attack they are trying to reduce them by starvation:"

I asked him what terms he actually hoped to get. He refused to be drawn and said laughing:

"If we were really logical we would declare war on England now for the sake of India, Egypt and Ireland. You have read our peace declaration."

I protested that Great Britain made nothing out of India. He replied

"Then give up being so altruistic. You English are the most chauvinist nation on earth without knowing it."

He laughed, again shook hands, and was off.

DN. January 9, 1918.

Brest-Litovsk.

Trotsky Suspicious of England.

"Allied Policy"

That Germany Should Succeed at Brest.

Petrograd, Sunday.

I had a hurried talk with M. Trotsky at the Smolny Institute just as, after a final consultation with the Russian members of the Peace Delegation, he was starting for Brest-Litovsk. He was leaving with

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He was under the impression that Mr. Lloyd George had made a statement that allowed such an interpretation. I assured him that he was mistaken, but he was difficult to convince. He said, "That is the Allied policy."

"Would Do No Harm."

I asked his opinion of a possible international Labor conference to decide the conditions of peace. He said, "It would do no harm."

Then I asked whether the Bolsheviks would fight in case the Central Powers refused to accept the decisions of that conference. He replied: "The question is not fairly put, for it does not guarantee that the Entente Governments would accept the conferences rulings. In any case, the Bolsheviks will fight independently of the rulings of such a conference unless they coincide with the democratic peace desired by Russia. The attitude of the Bolsheviks will not be influenced by the attitude of the Allied Governments, but only by the attitude of the Allied peoples."

The German Desertions.

Ask what his own hopes for a general and acceptable peace, and whether he thought the Germans desires such a peace, M. Trotsky said:

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

"It is difficult to say, because Germany has not yet been offered the chance of a general acceptable peace. But they must need it. Today four German deserters came to me – a lieutenant and three soldiers – and told me of the difficulty the Germans have in moving troops from this front. They have given up trying to move large units. They take the men one at a time, and the men, knowing where they are going to be sent, jump out of the train and escape. At this minute in the Kovno district, behind the German front, there are 25,000 German deserters concentrated together and armed with machine guns. The Germans have surrounded them, and, being unable to get their own men to attack them, are trying to reduce them by starvation.

I asked M Trotsky what terms he actually hope to get. He refused to be drawn, and said laughing, "If we were really logical we would declare war on England now for the sake of India, Egypt, and Ireland. You have read our peace declaration."

I protested that we made nothing out of India. He replied, "Then give up being so altruistic. You English are the most Chauvinist nation on earth without knowing that." He laughed again, shook hands, and was off.

NYT. January 11, 1918.

**Officers Called Back To The Army:
Bolsheviki Prepare for Swift Re-establishment of Fighting Power if
Parley Fails.**

Petrograd, January 9.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

The point of most importance in the news from Brest is that of the agreement reached between the Russian and Ukrainian delegations. Foreign Minister Trotsky's position would have been weakened if Ukraine, as once seemed possible, were to negotiate on other lines than his own. If the Germans could buy off Ukraine that fact would in itself have significance inside Germany as to Trotsky's stand.

Anything more foolish than the supposition that because Ukraine is opposed to the Bolsheviks it, therefore, is in favor of the Allies and of the prosecution of the war can hardly be imagined. The position of the Rada merely lessened Trotsky's chances of obtaining a satisfactory peace. It did not in any way make a separate peace less likely.

Meanwhile Lenin has left Petrograd, possibly to confer with the German and Austrian Socialists in Stockholm, or possibly merely for a short holiday in Finland. Before his departure he made a speech in the committee concerned with: demobilization, where he said

"I fear we shall have to stop demobilization and prepare for war. If Germany and her allies do not accept our conditions of peace then we shall declare a revolutionary war against Germany. We will not agree to a shameful peace."

Questions under consideration are the defense of Petrograd, the possibility of removing heavy artillery from the northern front in case of a final break in the negotiations, and methods for the swift re-establishment of the fighting power of the army. Krylenko is said to be organizing a volunteer army. It is reported from the front that Krylenko has issued orders that all officers shall return to the posts they had before the Bolshevik revolution.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

NYT. January 12, 1918.

Bolsheviki Plan War Of Revolt:

Preparations to Fight if. Peace Parley Fails Jeered by Opposition Parties.

Army's Big Task Realized:

Extremists' Methods in Civil Conflicts Explained --- Rival Governments in Ukraine.

Petrograd, January 10.

Amid the jeers of once • "patriotic" parties the Bolsheviki are preparing for war in their own fashion. They are not, attempting the impossible task of reanimating a worn-out army. On the contrary, they are anxious to clear away from the front all soldiers unwilling to fight. The new Russian army is to be much smaller than the old one, and, as Trotsky says, "it will wage not war but revolution." Its front trenches will be barricades against the oppressors.

Thanks to the attitude taken by the German delegates to the Brest-Litovsk conference, the Russians, for the first time since the revolution, have a perfectly definite motive for fighting. The Pravda, the Bolshevik newspaper, writes:

"Observe that the attitude adopted by the German soldiers is .perfectly just. That means that responsibility for a break in the negotiations will not lie on us who offered the. armistice. For whom will the German soldier now have shed his blood? For the freedom of the Baltic Barons, Polish landowner, and bourgeois from the dangers of the Russian revolution."

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The Russians doubt if the German soldier will advance, but if he should, if Hoffmann and Hindenburg decide to play with fire and even advance successfully, what then? "Another space of our territory will be taken, but they will be too nearer the end of the war."

They are considering the actual possibility of aging a revolutionary war. They consider the two main difficulties are transport and supply. The difficulty of the food supply will be lessened by a reduction in the army; that is, in the non-productive population spread along the front. Less hopeful is the matter of transport, but the demobilization of industry has already freed a number of factories for making locomotive parts, lack of which was one of the chief causes of the present deplorable condition of the Russian railways. The solution of the coal difficulty depends on clearing the Don Basin from Kaledine's troops, who, like all the parties opposed to the Bolsheviks, are doing their best to make Russia's continuance in the war impossible.

The civil wars now proceeding in Russia are not wars in one part of Russia against another, but attempt's to spread class warfare into those parts of the country where the proletariat or its equivalent has not yet got the upper hand. Thus the Smolny Institute is at war not with Ukraine, but with the Ukrainian bourgeois Rada, and not with the Cossack country as a whole, but with the military Government of the Cossacks as opposed to the Cossack Soviets. .

This explains the most remarkable feature in the development of these civil wars. All the bourgeois anti-Bolshevist papers chronicle every day new defeats of the Bolsheviks, naming places of successive sanguinary or bloodless disasters, but the curious thing is that after each defeat the Bolsheviks advance instead of retiring. If you follow these amazing campaigns upon the map it

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becomes clear at once that each successive Bolsheviki defeat is further into the enemy's country.

For example, much is made of the Bolshevik defeat in Kharkov, but now Kharkov is the centre of the new Soviet Government in Ukraine, setup in opposition to the Rada. There is news from the Don country of similar character. The military Government which summoned the Cossack troops to return from the front finds itself in the unfortunate position of having to, disarm them on arrival. Meanwhile a steady growth of the revolutionary movement is reported from within the Cossack territory. Finally, a meeting of the Central Committee of the Black Sea Fleet showed that of 300 delegates 220 were for the Soviets and only 80 for the Rada. Thus the Black Sea, Fleet as a whole passes into control of the opposition to the Rada.

NYT. January 13, 1918.

**Teuton Attitude More Menacing:
Central Empires Know Russia Can't Make War, But Still Fear
Radical Influences.**

Petrograd. January 11.

The latest news from Brest-Litovsk makes it clear that the Governments of the Central Empires. being assured that Russia will not be supported by the Entente at a general peace conference, are deliberately taking a more uncompromising position with a view to strengthening the military annexationist parties by showing the obvious trophies of the annexationist policy.

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They, like everybody except Russia's allies, know that Russia cannot continue the war in the ordinary sense except under desperate conditions. They know further that acceptance of Russia's peace term, would not be rewarded by a general peace.

They, therefore, in single combat with Trotzky, are doing their best to keep the frontiers of the revolution as far as possible from the frontiers of Germany. Whatever may be the final terms of peace, Germany will be the dominant trader in Poland, Courland, &c. From that point of view she could accept any terms.

But even after peace is signed Russia will not be a peaceful neighbor, and the Germans would prefer to help the Baltic barons to put down a revolution in Courland than to have revolution spreading over their own borders into Eastern Prussia. They know that as the German troops leave the occupied territory the Russian revolution will come in.

It must be remembered that the Russian revolution today is very much more obnoxious than the administrative revolution of last March. That is true for Russia as well as for Germany, and explains much of the bitter opposition to the Bolsheviks at home. This opposition makes Trotzky's position, doubly difficult.

Just as the allied sabotage of the Stockholm conference destroyed the last hope of rallying the old Russian Army under Kerensky, so the refusal to support Russia at a general peace conference tends to strengthen German opposition to Trotzky's demands, while it is possibly in the way of the Bolsheviks in their attempt to get together a new army to fight for the ideas of the revolution.

Thus the Den prints a note on the condition of things under German rule, pointing out that it is much better than that of Russia, and

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even appealing to women by saying, that in Riga ladies boots are sold for 15 rubles a pair, whereas here they are 80 or more.

The Retch openly exults in the strength of the German opposition to the Bolsheviki and the attitude of the Allies, not because these thing help Russia, but because they can be used to damage the Bolsheviki.

The Bolsheviki, equally obnoxious to the propertied classes of Germany and Russia, stand with swords pointing both ways, preventing, property on either side of them from mutually coming to terms.

DN. January 14, 1918.

Rupture Expected At Brest.

Russian Standard on Question on "No Annexations."

Turks Break Truce: 20,000 Troops Landed & Transport Sunk.

[Mr. Arthur Ransome, our Special Correspondent in Petrograd, telegraphs that a final rupture of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk may be expected at any moment. The Russians, Mr. Ransome indicates, defeated the Germans plan of breaking up the conference on the minor issue of the removal of the negotiations to neutral territory. The main fight will be on the question of "no annexations," and M. Trotsky's view is that on this point the Russian and German peoples stand on common ground, in opposition to the German government.

Mr. Ransome also telegraphs that Mr. Wilson's speech is welcomed by the Bolsheviks as "a great victory in the general struggle for a Democratic peace." He also states that the Turks have broken the armistice by landing 20,000 troops east of Trebizond and by sinking a Russian transport.]

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DN. January 14, 1918.

Trotsky's "Game."

Exposure of the German Militarists Plans.

Petrograd, Saturday.

A significant point in today's from Brest is the Russian reply to the German refusal to shift the negotiations to Stockholm. This refusal was put almost in the form of an ultimatum, and many of the Bolsheviks for prepared to take it as such and break off negotiations finally.

M. Trotsky played a cleverer game. He saw that the Germans wished the negotiations to be broken off on some such irrelevant question which would cloud the issue before the German people. He, on the other hand, is determined that if there is to be a final rupture it shall come on a point on which the German and the Russian people could stand together against the German Government. He therefore took the line that the Russians are ready to fight on the question of the self-definition of Poland, Courland, etc., but not on a tactical issue of minor importance.

Propaganda.

In making this statement he carefully exposed the plans of the German militarist before of the whole world. The negotiations and therefore proceed, but a final rupture may be expected at any moment if, as seems probable, the German militarist continue to impose their policy on their delegates.

Meanwhile, the Germans are taking every means of stopping

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fraternization on the front. This means that the Bolshevik propaganda is having an effect among the German soldiers. The Germans confiscate all copies of the "Fakel," the German paper containing a full account of the peace negotiations, and other Bolshevik propaganda literature, which is being distributed by the Russians. In spite of this the German soldiers crawl across every night to obtain copies secretly.

Turks Bad Faith.

A general meeting of the Soviet was held tonight to discuss the raising of a Socialist Army. A telegram from Kuban states that the Turks have already broken the armistice by landing 20,000 troops between Trabizond and Rise, and that a submarine has sunk a Russian transport.

The evening papers print a rumor that the negotiations are to be transferred to Warsaw.

Mr. Wilson's Speech.

President Wilson's speech is printed in full in today's official "Izvestia," together with the following comment:

"The conditions laid down by Wilson represent a great victory in the general struggle for a democratic peace, and we may hope to find in the American people an actual ally in that struggle."

The Bolsheviks regard Mr. Wilson's statement as a possible actual help in their present single – handed struggle with the German diplomats, and on M. Lenin's personal orders the full text of the speech was immediately telegraphed to M. Trotsky at Brest. A copy was also sent by special courier.

On the other hand, Mr. Lloyd George's speech was given big type

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headlines why an anti-- Bolshevik paper, "Leaves Russia to Her Fate."

DN. January 14, 1918.

Fear Of Revolution.

The Opposition to Trotsky's Demands.

Petrograd, Friday.

The latest news from Brest makes it clear that the Governments of the Central Empires, being assured that Russia will not be supported by the Entente at a general peace conference, or deliberately taking a more uncompromising position with a view to strengthening the military annexationist parties by showing the obvious trophies of an annexationist policy. They, like everybody, except Russia's Allies, know that Russia cannot continue the war in the ordinary sense except under desperate conditions. They know, further, that the acceptance of Russia's peace terms would not be rewarded by a general peace. They therefore, in a single combat with M. Trotsky, are doing their best to keep the frontiers of the revolution as far as possible from the frontiers of Germany.

Whatever may be the final terms of peace, Germany will be the dominant trader in Poland, Courland, etc. From that point of view she could accept any terms. But, even after peace is signed, Russia will not be a peaceful neighbor, and the Germans would prefer to help the Baltic barons to put down the revolution in Courland than to have of the revolution spreading over their own borders into Eastern Prussia. They know that as the German troops leave the occupied territory the Russian Revolution will come in.

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It must be remembered that the Russian Revolution today is very much more obnoxious to the propertied and privileged classes than was the kindly administrative revolution of last March. That is true for Russia as well as for Germany, and explains much of the bitter opposition to the Bolsheviks at home. This opposition makes M. Trotsky's position doubly difficult. Just as the Allied "sabotage" of the Stockholm Conference destroyed the last hope of rallying the old Russian army under Kerensky, so a refusal to support Russia as a general peace conference tends to strengthen the German opposition to Trotsky's demands, and to encourage the cadets and other parties in planning every possible obstacle in the way of the Bolsheviks in their attempt to get together a new Army to fight for the ideas of the Revolution.

Thus, the patriotic "Dem" prints a note on the conditions of Riga under German rule, pointing out that they are much better than they were under Russian rule, and even appealing to women by saying that in Riga ladies boots are sold for 15 rubles a pair, whereas they are 80 rubles or more. The patriotic "Reich" openly exults in the strength of the German opposition to the Bolsheviks, and in the attitude of the Allies, not because those things help Russia, but because they can be used to damage the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks are equally obnoxious to the propertied classes of Germany and Russia, and stand, as it were, with swords pointing both ways, preventing the propertied interest on either side from mutually coming to terms.

NYT. January 14, 1918.

**Bolsheviki Split On Wilson Speech:
Official Organ Hopes to Find America an Ally for Democratic Peace**

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Another Paper Is Hostile:

Calls Him Representative of Capitalists---Address Rushed to Trotsky by Lenine,

Petrograd, January 12.

President Wilson's speech is printed in full in today's official Izvestia, together with the following comment:

"The conditions laid down by President Wilson represent a, great victory in the great struggle for democratic peace. And we may hope to find in the American people an actual ally in that struggle."

The Bolsheviki regard President Wilson's statement as a possible actual help in their present single-handed struggle with the German diplomats, and on Lenine's personal orders the full text of the speech was immediately telegraphed to Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk. A copy was also sent by special courier.

On the other hand, Lloyd George's speech is given in big type headlines by an anti-Bolshevist paper "leaves Russia to her fate."

A significant point in the latest from Brest is the Russian reply to the German refusal to shift the negotiations to Stockholm. This refusal was put almost in the form of an ultimatum, and many of the Bolsheviki were prepared to take it as such and to break off negotiations. Finally Trotsky played a cleverer game.

He saw the Germans wished the negotiations to be broken off on some such irrelevant question which would cloud the issue before the German people. He on the other hand is determined that if there is to be a final rupture it shall come on a point on which the German and Russian people could stand together against the

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German Government. He therefore took the line that the Russians were ready to fight on the question of self-definition of Poland, Courland, &c. but not on a technical issue of minor importance. In making this statement he carefully exposed the plans of the German militarists before the whole world. The negotiations, therefore, proceeded, but the final rupture may be expected at any moment, if, as seems probable. the German militarists continue to impose their policy on their delegates.

Meanwhile the Germans are taking every means for stopping fraternization on the front. This means that the Bolshevik propaganda is having its effect among the German soldiers. The Germans confiscate all copies of a "faked" German paper containing a full account of the peace negotiations and other Bolshevik literature which is being distributed by the Russians. In spite of this, the German soldiers crawl across every night to obtain copies secretly. A general meeting of the Soviet is to be held tonight to discuss the raising of a Socialist army.

NYT. January 14, 1918.

Reports That Turks Have Broken the Armistice

Petrograd, January 13.

A telegram from Kuban states that the Turks have already broken the armistice by landing 20,000 troops between Trebizond and Rize and that a submarine has sunk a Russian transport.

The evening papers print a rumor that negotiations are to be transferred to Warsaw.

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DN. January 15, 1918.

Trotsky v Kuhlmann

**Climax at Brest: German Refusal to Evacuate Baltic Provinces.
Another Crisis In Russia.**

[Climax has been reached at Brest-Litovsk on the question of "no annexations." General Hoffmann, on behalf of the German Chief Army Command, has finally rejected the Russian demand for the evacuation of Courland, Lithuania, Riga, etc and the Conference has adjourned without a date having been fixed for any future meeting. The situation now created was anticipated by Mister Arthur Ransome, our Special Correspondent in Petrograd, in the following telegram:]

Petrograd,

Sunday the anti-Bolshevik press continues the policy of emphasizing the fact that Russia is not in a condition to continue the war, and at the same time blames Trotsky for not breaking finally with the Germans on the question of shifting the negotiations. It is now perfectly clear that if M. Trotsky had broken off negotiations on that point he would have been toying directly into the hands of the German annexationist. M. Trotsky, so far, has made no single concessions on the main principle, where he resolutely sticks to the position taken up by the Price tag, so that the break when it comes may be not only between Germany and Russia, but also between the German generals and the German people.

When the Germans stated that the original conditions no longer held, since they were the conditions for a general peace, and the Allies had refused to join the conference, M. Trotsky quietly

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replied that the principles of a democratic peace put forward by Russia would not be all for my any external circumstances or whatever. There is no other party in Russia who would take so far my stand. And the significance of the intentions of the other parties is that they are using the Bolshevik preparations for war and for the creation of a volunteer army as a basis for an energetic agitation among the Petrograd garrison with a view to turning the Garrison against the Bolsheviks.

Coming Danger.

In five days time the Constituent Assembly meets. It now seems a probable that it will contain a majority against the Bolsheviks. That is to say, it will try to replace the Bolsheviks by some other [two lines unreadable] It will offer the German generals and antagonist infinitely less dangerous to them than M. Trotsky. Efforts are being made to secure street demonstrations in its favor, and if these efforts are successful the result will be anarchy, then which the Germans could wish nothing better.

The Bolsheviks are prepared to set up in opposition to the Constituent Assembly a new Conference of Soviets of the peasants, soldiers, and workers. If they are successful the Bolshevik Government will continue, and the Bolshevik policy with regard to Germany will be unchanged. This, however, cannot last forever. Sooner or later the Bolsheviks will go out and the Germans will come in. The only way of preventing this latter danger would have been for the Allies to adopt the Russian principles of negotiation. M Trotsky, single-handed, has produced more open disagreement in Germany than any other diplomat during the war. Handicapped by fighting the battle alone, he has now reached the edge of a separate peace which the German Socialist fear and the German Annexationist desire. He has done enough to show what could have been done by united action. The first real help in the

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struggle has been given him by President Wilson's Message to Congress, which also is the first Allied utterance that shows an imaginative understanding of the actual situation.

Confiscations.

The Bolshevik Government has now lasted longer than any other since the Revolution. During the last few days it has dismissed all the officials at the Ministry of Finance who refuse to work and have deprived them of the right to a pension. It has confiscated and made the property of the Republic the automobile works of the International Sleeping Car Company, which had brought them to a standstill. It has decreed compulsory labor with a view to getting the street cleared of snow. It has nationalized an entire mining district, has declared the great Putiloff munitions factories State property without compensation. It is, further, preparing decrees of freedom of conscience, stating that religion is the private affair of each citizen. Religion is not to be taught in the schools. There is also the possibility of a decree abolishing the right of inheritance.

A telegram from Commissary Antonoff announces that the Donetz basin has been cleared of General Kaledin's troops and that the call output is now in Bolshevik hands. Corn is being requisition for dispatch to the north.

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NYT. January 15, 1918.

Bolshevist Rule Menaced By Foes:

Ousting of Trotzky Now, However, Would Be Harmful, Says Observer.

Is Causing German Rift:

Wilson's Address Hailed as First Allied Utterance That Appreciates Situation.

Petrograd, January 13.

The anti-Bolshevist press continues its policy of emphasizing the fact that Russia is not in condition to continue the war, and at the same time it blames Trotzky for not breaking finally with the Germans on the question of shifting the negotiations from Brest-Litovsk.

On that point he would have been playing directly into the hands of the German annexationists. Trotzky so far has made no single concession on the main principle, where he sticks resolutely to the position taken by the Reichstag majority, so that a break, when it comes, shall be not only between Germany and Russia, but also between the German Generals and the German people.

When the Germans stated that the original conditions no longer held good, since they were conditions for a general peace and the Allies had refused a joint conference, Trotzky quietly replied that the principles of a democratic peace, as put forward by Russia, would not be altered by any external circumstances whatever.

There is no other party in Russia which would take so firm a stand, and it is significant of the intentions of the other parties that they are using the Bolshevik preparations for war and for the creation

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of a volunteer army as a basis for energetic agitation among the Petrograd garrison, with a view to turning the garrison against the Bolshevik!.

In five days time the Constituent Assembly meets. It now seems probable that it will contain a majority against the Bolsheviks. That is to say, it will try to replace the Bolsheviks by some other and necessarily weaker Government, committed to obtaining peace "by pressure on the Allies." It will offer the German Generals an antagonist infinitely less dangerous to them than Trotsky. If these efforts are successful, the result will be anarchy, than which the Germans could wish nothing better.

The Bolsheviks are prepared to sit in opposition to the Constituent Assembly the new conference of Soviets of peasants, soldiers, and workers. If they are successful the Bolshevik Government will continue and the Bolshevik policy with regard to Germany will be unchanged.

This, however, cannot last forever. Sooner or later the Bolsheviks will go out and the Germans will come in. The only way of preventing this latter would have been for the Allies to adopt the Russian principles for negotiation.

Trotsky's Achievements.

Trotsky, single-handed, has produced more open disagreement in Germany than any other diplomat during the war although handicapped by being alone, and is therefore on the edge of a separate peace, which the German Socialists fear and the German annexationists desire. He, nevertheless, has done enough to show what could have been done by united action.

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The first real help in this struggle has been given to him by President Wilson's message to Congress, which is also the first allied utterance that shows an imaginative understanding of the actual situation.

The Bolshevik Government has now lasted longer than any other since the revolution. It has the great advantage of knowing its own mind. Thus during the last few days it has dismissed all the officers of the Ministry of Finance who refused to work, depriving them of the right to pensions. It has confiscated and made the property of the Republic the automobile works of the International Sleeping Car Company, which has brought them to a standstill. It has decreed compulsory labor with a view to getting the streets cleared of snow.

It has nationalized the entire mining district. It has declared the Putilov munitions factories State property without compensation. It is further preparing decrees for freedom of conscience, stating that religion is the private affair of each citizen. Religion is not to be taught in the schools. It is possible that it will issue a decree abolishing the right of inheritance.

The Council of People's Commissaries have instructed the Russian delegation at Brest-Litovsk with regard to Turkish Armenia. Russia recognizes the right to self-definition of the Armenians in the territory occupied by Russia. It holds: that this right can be exercised only under certain conditions absolutely necessary for a free referendum of the Armenian people; Russia to withdraw her troops from occupied territory; Armenian militia to be formed for the protection of life and property; the free return of the Armenian refugees and emigrants in other countries, and also of the Armenians forcibly deported by Turkey during the war.

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These are the conditions on which the Council of People's Commissaries will insist in the peace negotiations with the Turkish Government. A telegram from the commissary at Antonov announces that the Donetz Basin has been cleared and that Kaledine's troops and the coal output are now in Bolshevik hands. Corn is being requisitioned for dispatch to the north.

**DN. January 17, 1918.
DOES NOT EXIST ON P. 1.**

NYT. January 17, 1918.

De Facto Recognition Of Lenine Is Claimed: Bolshevik Chief Friendly to Visiting Envoys Assembly Peace Move Predicted.

The Bolshevik Government has been recognized by the Allies and neutrals. On Sunday a telegram was received from the Russian Commander – in – Chief announcing that the Rumanian Army had surrounded a Russian Regiment and with it some Austrians who were visiting the Russians, thus breaking the conditions of the armistice. The Rumanians cut off the Russian supplies, finally disarmed them and arrested the regimental commander.

Lenine consulted by direct wire with Trotsky, and it was decided that as the Rumanians had acted in a manner unprecedented in international history, Russia could only reply by a similar unprecedented act. By an order from Brest – Litovsk the Rumanian Minister was arrested.

On hearing this the whole diplomatic corps met, and it was suggested that they should leave unless the Rumanian Minister was released. It need hardly be pointed out that the whole incident

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suggests German agency because nothing would suit the Germans better than to have an excuse for breaking with Russia over the question of the armistice instead of over an important question where the German negotiators take opposite line to that of the German people.

An American Ambassador protested and succeeded in saving the situation. The whole diplomatic corps went to the Smolny Institute and were received in Lenine's little working study, which was made ready for them by borrowing chairs from other rooms. The American Ambassador formally presented each representative in turn. As the ground of their protest was the immunity of envoys it was a de facto recognition of the Bolshevik Government. The general tone of the conversation was friendly; for example, the Italian Ambassador took the opportunity of protesting against the looting of his wine cellar. Lenine said:

"You should have telephoned to me." Lenin on the main questions said:

"It is better to arrest one Minister than to lose thousands of lives in a war against Rumania."

However, early today an order was signed for the Ministers release.

Rudney, Mayor of Moscow, and leader of the Social Revolutionaries, invited members of the foreign press to meet him today. His object was to secure Allied support for the Social Revolutionaries. I was there and asked a number of questions. The result fully bore out my previous view, that we have more to fear than to gain from any replacement of the Bolsheviks by the Revolutionaries.

Rudney said that if the Constituent Assembly met it would

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

immediately have to answer the question: "Can Russia help the Allies" He thinks she is no longer in a condition to do so. The Social Revolutionaries, controlling a majority of the assembly, will make an immediate appeal to the Allies for an international conference with a view to opening negotiations for an immediate democratic peace.

He said that the speeches of Lloyd George and President Wilson were the starting points. A speedy answer to this appeal would be desirable because the delay would mean ruin for the Social Revolutionaries and serious risk for the Allies.

When asked whether in case the Bolsheviki continued in power and declared a holy war against Germany, the Social Revolutionaries would support them in fighting for their country and the revolution he was unwilling to answer.

"With regard to the Bolshevik power as a mirage," he said. "In that case the Social Revolutionaries would act towards the Bolshevik Government as it acted against the Czar."

Pressed for a definite answer, he said they would not oppose it.

It is quite clear that the main plank of the Social Revolutionaries' platform will be an appeal to the Allies for immediate peace, that is to say, nothing but an expression of lack of confidence in the Allied aims is to be expected from them.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

NYT. January 18, 1918.

**Rumania's Act May Give Germans Pretext:
Petrograd Fears They Will Use It as Favorable Excuse to End
Peace Parley.**

Petrograd. January 16.

The release of the Rumanian Minister was followed by an ultimatum to Rumania. This, is not surprising, because unless the Rumanian action with regard to Russian troops on the front is immediately put right it gives the Germans the opportunity of breaking off negotiations on a technical point where Russia would be in the wrong even before the German people. This would nullify much of the effect of Trotzky's policy, the object of which is to insure that the Germans shall either give in owing to Socialist pressure in Germany or .shall break in such a manner as to increase that pressure.

The Alliance for the Defence of the Constituent Assembly and similar organizations are preparing a big demonstration for Friday, when the Constituent Assembly may open. They are issuing appeals calling the people into the streets. An energetic agitation is being carried on in the barracks to the same end, and a special appeal has been addressed to sailors, perhaps in view of the presence in the Neva of several ships known to support the Bolsheviki.

Trouble of some kind is almost certain. The Government view may be gathered from a leader in today's Izvestia, which practically says that if the Assembly takes the line of opposing the Soviet Government then obviously it will have been tricked by the outcry

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

of the Bourgeoisie into supporting the Bourgeoisie against the actual people. In such case they are prepared to disregard it.

The conditions of life in Petrograd are daily more difficult. The central power station is not working owing to the complete absence of coal. The electric light, which is supplied by various separate companies, is increasingly irregular. In some parts of the town it only begins at 7 o'clock in the evening, and other parts yesterday had none at all. No candles are to be found, and it is difficult to procure oil.

The bread allowance is at the minimum, and that minimum is sometimes unobtainable. It is feared the water supply will also cease. Sledges are growing; rarer because there is no forage. Food is sometimes impossible, and always difficult, to obtain, though today I got a good chicken for little more than a sovereign (\$5.) This, however, was unusual luck,. Petrograd has long forgotten her taste of milk, though now and again it is possible to get inferior butter at 21 shillings a pound.

Naturally the absence of lighting helps thieves, who pay most attention to those rare shops with any kind of food for sale, and ready-made clothes shops.

Also for the sale of warm clothes they have an unpleasing habit of holding up people and stripping them naked in the street.

Extremely unfair attempts are made to put down these conditions to the rule of the Bolsheviki, and to use them as political propaganda. Kerensky would have had to face the same conditions, and if the Social Revolutionaries do succeed in ousting the Bolsheviki they will be unable to alter them.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

DN. January 18, 1918.

A Fateful Day.

Trouble Expected When the Assembly Meets.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The release of the Rumanian Minister, followed by the ultimatum to Rumania is not surprising because unless the Rumanian action with regard to the Russian troops on the front is immediately put right, it gives the Germans opportunity of breaking off negotiations on a technical point, placing Russia in the wrong even before the German people. This would nullify much of the effect of Trotsky's policy, the object of which is to ensure that the Germans shall either give in owing to social pressure in Germany, or shall break in such a manner as to increase that pressure.

The Alliance for the Defense of the Constituent Assembly and similar organizations are preparing big demonstrations for Friday, when the Constituent Assembly may open. They are issuing appeals calling the people into the streets. Energetic agitation is proceeding in barracks to the same end and special appeal is addressed to sailors, perhaps in view of the presence in the Neva of several ships known to support the Bolsheviki. Trouble of some kind is almost certain. The Government view may be gathered from a leader in today's "Isvestia," which practically says that if the Assembly takes the line of opposing the Soviet Government then obviously it will have been tricked by the outcry of the Bourgeoisie into supporting them against the actual people. In such case they are prepared to disregard it.

Disagreements between the Russian and the German delegations at Brest seem to be approaching a climax. At the last sitting the

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

difference of views with regard to the interpretation of self – definition was accentuated. M. Trotsky kept resolute to the line he followed throughout. The Germans protested against the Russian Government's deliberate attempt to use the peace negotiations as a means of influencing the internal affairs of Germany.

M. Trotsky replied that he would be delighted if the Germans would be equally open and showing their own views as to the future internal affairs of Russia. He ironically reminded General Hoffman that he can hardly be expected to agree with him owing to the well – known differences of opinion between parties, which, so far as Trotsky was concerned, had already been decided in Germany by a court of law.

This, of course, was a reference to the fact that Trotsky is under sentence of eight months imprisonment by German authorities for a book on war which he wrote in German and published in Switzerland.

Conditions of life in Petrograd become daily more difficult. The central power station is not working owing to the complete absence of coal. The electric light, which is supplied by various separate companies, is increasingly irregular. In some parts of the town it only begins at 7 p.m., Other parts yesterday have no light at all.

A Chicken For A Sovereign

Food is sometimes impossible and always difficult to procure, though today I got a good chicken for little more than a sovereign. This, however, was unusual luck. Petrograd has long forgotten the taste of milk, though now and again it is possible to secure inferior butter at 21s. per pound. Naturally the absence of lighting helps the thieves, who pay most attention to those rare shops with any

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kind of food for sale and ready-made clothes shops. Also, for the sake of warm clothes, they have an unpleasing habit of holding up people and stripping them naked in the street. Extremely unfair attempts have been made to put down these conditions to the rule of the Bolsheviks, and to use them as political propaganda. Kerensky would have had to face the same conditions, and if the Social Revolutionaries do succeed in outing the Bolsheviks they will be unable to alter them.

NYT. January 19, 1918.

**Germans Expect To Make Peace With Ukrainians:
Announce Agreement Reached in Principle Over Future Political Relations.**

Territorial Sop Offered:

Petrograd Hears Republic's Envoys Are Willing to Discuss "Imperialistically!"

Russian Position Shaken:

Belief That Negotiation with the Bolshevik Delegates Are Approaching Final Rupture.

Petrograd, January 17.

I cabled some time ago that a separate peace would be more likely to be signed by Ukraine than by the Bolshevik Government. Today any supposition is confirmed by news that the Austro-Germans have been strengthened in their resistance to the Russians by results of the separate negotiations with the Ukrainians.

During the debate Dr. von Kulhmann let slip the fact that discussions already begun with the Ukrainians as to actual frontiers would have a great influence on future negotiations. The

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importance of this lies in the fact that the Ukrainians are ready to discuss "imperialistically" with a view to possible territorial gains, thus weakening the main Russian position, the strength of which is its absolute disregard of territorial wins or losses and its insistence on the right of the inhabitants alone to decide their own fate.

Radek (a member of the peace delegation) telegraphs the following comment on the delayed Austro-German reply: "The reply of German diplomacy entirely supports the policy Hoffmann and company. It will be the task of the Russian delegation to demonstrate this."

In further discussions, the stenograph of which has not yet been received, Kuhlmann after several attempts to evade Trotzky's questioning was forced to state openly that the German Government could make no promises as to the rate of the removal or [???] of occupation.

The negotiations are steadily moving toward a final rupture. It is to be hoped that this will not precede the coming struggle in Petrograd, for when the Bolsheviki are again at war with Germany the parties opposed to them will certainly use the popular desire for peace as a lever to eject them. This will be less easy once the present crisis is safely weathered.

NYT. January 19, 1918.

**Bolsheviki Prepare Demands On Assembly:
Want Recognition of Soviet Authority and the Present Peace Program.**

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Petrograd, January 17.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet has published a declaration which will be read by a representative of the Government, who will open the Constituent Assembly. The declaration is in four parts.

The first part declares that Russia is a republic of Soviets. Both the Central and local Governments are to be in the hands of these organs. The basis of the Republic is a free alliance of free nations, a federation of national republics of Soviets.

The second part provides for the complete socialization of the country, including the nationalization of forests, mines, waters, banks, land, factories, railways, etc., industrial conscription, the arming of the whole working class and disarmament of the propertied classes.

The third part expresses the Constitutional Assembly's approval of the Soviet policy, fraternization, publication of secret documents, and the ending of the war with a democratic peace on the principle of no annexations and no indemnities and self-determination of peoples. It insists on a complete break with the barbarous bourgeois policy of keeping in subjection millions of working folk in Asia, in colonies generally, and in the small countries.

It approves the recognition of Finnish independence, the removal of troops from Persia, and the Armenian's right to self-definition, and expresses the belief that the Soviet Government will continue by the same road until it reaches "final victory" through an International labor revolt against the yoke of capital.

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The fourth and most significant part includes recognition by the Asscmbly that it was elected on party lists prepared before the October revolution, and that it therefore is not justified in opposing itself to the Soviet Government. This indicates clearly the line of Bolshevikist policy. In case the Assembly does not prove obedient, the Bolsheviki will probably look up Cromwell in English histories and learn what to do. From a rigid standpoint of theoretic democracy it is difficult to defend them. But the motives of the probable majority against them are neither localistic nor patriotic. The Bolshevik motives also have nothing to do with patriotism, but they have ideals, and the present struggle is really an attempt to force these ideals on the apathetic multitude.

Anti-Bolshevist preparations for a demonstration continue, while the Bolsheviki urge that the people should stay at home and not lend themselves to be the tools of the so-called Socialist parties which have themselves become tools of the so-called propertied and privileged classes.

Again throughout the town is that strange tension in the air which was noticeable before the previous rows. Yesterday at the Tauris Palace, where the Constituent Assembly is to meet, the Deputies were talking excitedly about machine guns and thinking that it was possible that the Assembly would not meet at all.

The Bolsheviki are quite confident of weathering the crisis.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

DN. January 19, 1918.

Ukraine Danger.

Austro – Germans Seeking a Separate Peace.

Petrograd, Thursday.

I telegraphed some time ago that a separate peace was more likely to be signed by the Ukraine than by the Bolshevik Government. Today my supposition is confirmed by the news that the Austro – Germans have been strengthened in their resistance to the Russians by the results of separate negotiations with the Ukrainians.

During the debate M.Kuhlmann let slip the fact that discussions had already begun with the Ukrainians as to the actual frontiers, which would have a great influence on future negotiations. The importance of this lies in the fact that the Ukrainians are ready to discuss "Imperialistically," with a view to possible territorial gains, thus weakening the main Russian position, the strength of which is its absolute disregard of territorial gains or losses, and its insistence on the right of the inhabitants alone to decide their own fate.

Towards Final Rupture.

M. Radek telegraphs the following comment on the detailed Austro – German reply:

"Making concessions verbally; reply of German diplomacy entirely supports the policy of Hoffmann and company. It will be the task of the Russian delegation to demonstrate this." In further discussions, full reports of which have not yet been received,

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Kuhlmann, after several attempts to evade M. Trotsky's questioning, was forced to state openly that the German Government can make no promises as to the date of removal of the forces of occupation.

The negotiations are steadily moving towards final rupture. It is to be hoped that this will not precede the coming struggle in Petrograd, for when the Bolsheviks are again at war with Germany the parties opposed to them will certainly use the popular desire for peace as a lever to eject them. This will be less easy once the present crisis is safely weathered.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet has published a declaration which will be read by a representative of the Government who will open the Constituent Assembly. The declaration is in four parts.

The first declares Russia a Republic of Soviets, and both central and local government is to be in the hands of these organs. The basis of the Republic is a free alliance of free nations and federation of national Republics of Soviets.

A Democratic Peace.

The second part provides for the complete socialization of the country, including the nationalization of forest, mines, waters, banks, land, factories, railways, etc., Industrial conscription, the arming of the whole working class, and disarmament of the propertied classes.

The third part expresses the Constituent Assembly's approval of the Soviets policy – fraternization, the publication of secret documents, and all other methods of ending the war with a democratic peace, on principles of no annexations and no

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indemnities, and on the basis of the self – definition of peoples. A complete break is insisted upon with the barbous bourgeois policy of keeping in subjection millions of working folk in Asia, in the Colonies generally, and in small countries.

The fourth and most significant part includes recognition by the Assembly that it is elected on party lists prepared before the October Revolution, and that it therefore is not justified in opposing itself to the Soviet Government.

Bolshevik Ideals.

This indicates clearly the line of Bolshevik policy. In case the Assembly does not prove obedient they will probably look up Cromwell in the English histories and learn what to do. From the rigid standpoint of theoretic democracy it is difficult to defend them. But the motives of the probable majority against them are neither idealistic nor patriotic. The Bolshevik motives, also, have nothing to do with patriotism, but they have ideals, and the present struggle is really an attempt to force ideals on the apathetic multitude.

The anti-- Bolshevik preparations for a demonstration continues, while the Bolsheviks urged that people should stay at home and not lend themselves to be tools of the so-called Socialist parties, which have themselves become tools of the now desperate propertied and privileged classes. It is rumored that Savinkoff, Filosenko and Kerensky have reached Petrograd from Kaledin's camp. Again throughout the town there is that strange tension in the air which was noticeably before previous rows. Yesterday at the Tauris Palace, where the Constituent Assembly is to meet, deputies were talking [part of sentence unreadable] and thinking it possible that the Assembly would not meet at all. The Bolsheviks are quite confident of weathering the crisis.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

O. January 20, 1918.

[This is Ransome's final report to the Observer]

**Bolshevism At Bay.
Peace Or War Without Limit.
Unmasking Of Germany.**

Petrograd, January 17.

The arrest of the Rumanian Minister and the protest of the 20 Allied and neutral diplomats, and their personal reception by Lenin at the Smolny Institute which amounted to a recognition of the Bolshevik Government, the subsequent release of the Rumanian Minister and the ultimatum to Rumania, all passed almost unnoticed here, where the minds of the people are steadily worked up in expectation of tomorrow, when the Constituent Assembly meets. The hopes raised around this event by the anti-- Bolshevik parties seem likely to be disappointed. The Revolutionary Socialist have the majority. Their program is practically identical with that of the Bolsheviks -- namely, an immediate democratic peace. This they hope to secure by "putting pressure" on the Allies. If that fails they will make a separate peace on the best terms and they can get.

It is extremely unlikely, however, that the Bolsheviks will allow them to take power. The Assembly will be asked to approve of the Soviet Government. If recalcitrant, it will be disregarded or a substitute for it will be found.

The Bolsheviks are playing a very daring game. They have steadily used the peace negotiations as a means of exposing the German Government to the German people, and if as it seems probable, the

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

German Government is determined not to secure a separate peace on the Russian terms, which, as General Hoffmann pointed out, are those of the victor rather than those of the vanquished, they are prepared for the desperate adventure of forcing Russia to continue the war, or rather to begin a new war against all capitalist Governments in the world, including England, but beginning with Germany.

They are preparing to create a volunteer army for this purpose, thereby partially solving the difficulty of unemployment with which they are faced owing to the gradual running down of the factories from lack of coal. They will have against them pretty well the whole of the Russian masses, who are less interested in fighting for ideals than in securing immediate peace. The Bolsheviks can count on the support of the younger working – class population only, which is really inspired by the revolution. They will be opposed by all the other political parties who, though at first ready to blame the Bolsheviks for their peace negotiations, are already agitating against them among the masses and the garrisons for their "failure to secure peace."

Thus the position is now entirely reversed. The Bolsheviks stand for war for the sake of the international proletariat. Opposition to the Bolsheviks is either directly or indirectly a peace movement. For that very reason it will win sooner or later, when the Bolsheviks will go under after writing a bit of history. The first open move against them is planned for tomorrow, when their opponents will call the people into the streets ostensibly in defense of the Constituent Assembly, but really to demonstrate popular dissatisfaction with the Bolsheviks. Starvation in the town, the stoppage of tramways, shortage of electric light, candles and kerosene, and every kind of food makes this possible.

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Conflicts seem probable, but I am inclined to think that the Bolsheviks will be able to retain control. The Revolutionary Socialist Party declare that they are prepared to use against the Bolsheviks the same methods that they used against the Czar's Government, namely, a return to the old methods of terrorism.

DN. January 21, 1918.

Bolshevik Rule.

Constituent Assembly Broken Up.

Stormy Scenes In Petrograd.

[Russia's new Constituent Assembly met on Friday, and was dissolved early on Saturday morning by order of the Bolshevik government. This drastic measure was preceded by violent street fighting. Mr. Arthur Ransome, our Special Correspondent in Petrograd, gives the number of killed as 16 and the wounded as about 100.]

The Bolsheviks in the new Assembly found themselves in a decided minority — 140 against 278 Social Revolutionaries of the Right — and, according to an official statement, the majority declined to approve of the manner in which the peace negotiations are being conducted. Mr. Ransome in the following long dispatch explains the whole situation.]

The Main Issue.

Bolsheviks Outvoted in New Assembly.

Petrograd, Saturday.

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The Constituent Assembly has met, but, certainly the gathering had nothing of the character of a serious meeting of patriots, prepared to sink personal differences and work together in the creation of a new Russia. These people have had an overdose of politics,, and the calling together of the Assembly had almost from the beginning of the revolution come to mean little more than a move in political ' chess, rather like "castling," in order to confounded enemy attack, or to secure a new starting — point in the game.

An ironic illustration of this was the complete absence of the Cadets, who, at the beginning of the revolution, were anxious to postpone the Constituent Assembly as long as possible, till opinion should have swung to their side. Eleven Cadets have been elected, and it is impossible even for one to take his seat. The Constituent Assembly for practical purposes is made up of two solid blocks, one of which, the Bolsheviks and the Left Social Revolutionaries, support the Soviet Government. The other, the right Social Revolutionaries, with a few extraneous adherence, oppose the Soviet Government, and calls for absolute authority to be given to the Constituent Assembly.

Identical Aims.

But it must not be imagined that there is any essential differences between the political aims of either party. The Social Revolutionary block wishes much the same as the Bolshevik block, and opposition is personal merely. Russia, judging from yesterday's meeting, is fairly unanimous as to what it wants. The question is less what is to be done then who is to have the doing. The Government declaration included all the principles of the Social Revolutionaries, but while it was cheered point by point by the

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Bolshevik block the Social Revolutionaries sat obstinately silent, simply because these principles-land for the peasants, a general democratic peace, the creation of a voluntary army, etc., were being announced by a member of the other side.

Later in the day the reverse of this phenomenon was witnessed when the Bolsheviks sat silent during the annunciation of almost identical principles by their opponents. So strong was party feeling that when Sverdloff, after reading the Soviet decoration, proposed singing of the "International," the Social Revolutionaries quite as keen Internationalists as the Bolsheviks, were unwilling to stand, and only in twos and threes joined in the singing.

Danger Of Anarchy.

The Social Revolutionaries had planned great demonstrations in favor of the Constituent Assembly, and demonstrations of all kinds had been forbidden by the Soviet Government, who well knew that a conflict between parties might easily end in uncontrollable anarchy. Feeling in the town was therefore fairly tense.

It was understood that no demonstrations would be allowed to approach the Taurida Palace. Outside there was a small crowd, more expectant than excited. However, processions did, in fact, form, and one or two of them refused to disperse, and tried to force a way to the Palace, where the Constituent Assembly was meeting. At several points there was shooting, most on the Litemia Prospect, which must be crossed by anybody going towards the old Duma building. In all about 15 persons were killed and 'about 100 and wounded.

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The actual opening of the Assembly was marked by an incident which showed the character of the opposition. Choosing the time when the Government representative was just about to open the proceedings, a member of the Social Revolutionaries jumped up and proposed that the eldest member of the Social Revolutionary Party should open the Assembly. Instantly Svietzoff, the aged and dignified revolutionary, appeared on the platform and began ringing the Presidential Bell, amid the wild cheers from the Social Revolutionaries and indignant protest from the Bolsheviks. The uproar lasted about five minutes. The aged Svietzoff succeeded in declaring the Assembly open when he lost his bell, and thereupon announced an adjournment. In the general din he was naturally unheard.

Then, Sverdzoff, before the Council of Peoples Commissaries, read the declaration, the most important point of which recognizes Russia as a Republic, of Soviets — that is to say, recognizing the local Soviets as organs of local government, and the All — Russian Soviet as the source of supreme authority. This point, of course, was unacceptable to the Social Revolutionaries. To understand the position, it must be remembered that the Constituent Assembly itself may be described as a legacy from the Coalition Government, which was overthrown by the Soviet revolution of October. The opposition to the Bolsheviks in the Constituent Assembly roughly coincides with the opposition in the original Soviet to the October Revolution.

The Bolshevik argument is that the first Revolution, with the Constituent Assembly is superseded by the second revolution. The Constituent Assembly is merely a belated survival of the first Revolution, and cannot be considered seriously as part of the

second. As a leading Bolsheviks said yesterday: "What is the good of having a Constituent Assembly when the Revolution is only beginning."

The identity of views of both parties is again illustrated by their choice of President. The Social Revolutionaries proposed M. Chernoff simply because he enjoys popularity among the peasants as an exponent of the principles of "all land to the peasants." The Bolshevik-Block proposed little Marie Spiridonova for precisely the same reason. Voting on the point took an hour and a half. During the counting of the balls, which were thrown one by one from one bowl into another, the old Duma building was half filled up again. The Peoples Commissaries occupied the Ministerial boxes. I noticed Lenin laughing and talking to Krylenko, a small elderly man, still retaining his ensign's uniform.

At last the click — click of the balls ended. There was a tense silence for a moment while the result was declared. M.Chernoff pulled 244, Spiridonova 153. These figures represent the opposing parties in the Constituent Assembly, and with parties as firmly united as these are they will probably remain constant.

M. Chernoffs opening speech, as I foresaw put the peace question before all else. The Bolsheviks wish the first question for discussion to be recognition of the Soviet authority. The Social Revolutionaries insisted that the peace-question comes first. The most striking speech later in the evening was that of M. Tseretelli, who faced tremendous opposition with great courage, and did at last succeeded in getting a hearing. Tseretelli, however, is a better speaker than a leader, a better thinker than politician, and the impression I got from his speech was that of a man making a

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gallant rearguard fight, not that of a man with power to unite opposing parties for mutual wo

NYT. January 21, 1918.

People Shot In Streets:

15 killed and 100 Wounded in Assembly Day Demonstrations.

Petrograd January 18, (Delayed.)

This morning I crossed the town, going to the Taurida Palace, where the Constituent Assembly met. It was a particularly fine day, with a clearer sky than usual for Petrograd, because of the enforced stoppage of factories from lack of coal. Comparatively few people were in the streets. Red Guard and sailor patrols were, however, to be seen at many points.

It was understood that no demonstrations would be allowed to approach the Taurida Palace. Outside there was a small crowd more expectant than excited. However, processions did, in fact, form, and one or two of them tried to force a way to the palace where the Constituent Assembly was meeting. At several points there was shooting, mostly on the Liteini Prospekt. In all about 15 persons were killed and 100 wounded. When late at night I left the Constituent Assembly and crossed the town on my way home I found the streets perfectly calm.

The actual opening of the Assembly was marked by an incident which showed the character of the opposition. Choosing a time when the Government representative was just about to open the proceedings, members of the Social Revolutionaries jumped up and proposed that the oldest member of the Social Revolutionary

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Party should open the Assembly. Instantly Sverdloff, aged and dignified Revolutionary, appeared on the platform and began ringing the Presidential bell amid wild cheers from the Social Revolutionaries and indignant protests from the Bolsheviki. The uproar lasted about five minutes.

Sverdloff had succeeded in declaring the Assembly open when he lost his bell and thereupon announced an adjournment. In the general din he naturally was not heard. Then Sverdloff for the Council of People's Commissaries, read a declaration the most important point of which recognizes Russia as a republic of Soviets. This point, of course, was unacceptable to the Social Revolutionaries.

To understand the position it must be remembered that the Constituent Assembly itself may be described as a legacy from the Coalition Government which was overthrown by the Soviet revolution of October. Opposition to the Bolsheviki in the Constituent Assembly roughly coincides with the opposition in the original Soviet prior to the October revolution. The Bolshevik argument is that the first revolution with its Constituent Assembly is superseded by the second revolution, and that the Constituent Assembly is merely a belated survival of the first revolution and cannot be considered seriously as a part of the second.

The Soviet revolutionaries proposed Tchernoff as President, simply because he enjoys popularity among the peasants as an exponent of the principle "all the land to the peasants." The Bolshevik block proposed poor little Marie Spiridonova for precisely the same reason. The voting on this point took an hour and a half.

The People's Commissaries occupied the Ministerial boxes. I noticed Lenine laughing and talking to Krelenko a small, elderly

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man, still retaining his Ensign's uniform. None of the allied Governments' representatives were present, and the diplomatic boxes were mostly filled with soldiers and sailors, whose sympathies obviously were with the Bolshevik!. Red Guards and sailors were on duty throughout the building, and I was amused to observe a Red Guard on more than one occasion lean his rifle against the wall in order to be able the more enthusiastically to applaud.

NYT. January 22, 1918.

Good Seen In Crisis:

Government of the Assembly would have Been Without Power.

Petrograd, January 20

For the moment the authority of the Soviets is unshaken and I am inclined to think that, from the point of view of Russia, the crisis is passing better than could have been hoped. If the Soviets had submitted to the Assembly, which was actually the legacy of a revolution before their own, the result would have been the formation of a republic without reality and a Government without power.

This whole good effect of Trotsky's negotiations would have been undone, since the Germans could have said that it was not the fault of their annexationist desires that peace was impossible, but the fault of Russian inability to provide a stable Government. As for the Allies, they would once more be in their old difficult position when dealing with the Milukoff Government, which while polite in the extreme enjoyed no authority whatsoever. The Soviets at least have real authority. The Bolshevik revolution of October was both justified and made possible by the Bolshevik majorities in the Soviets.

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When opinion in the country really changes we shall find the character of the Soviets change. Until then a change in the Government is undesirable. Any coup d'état in Petrograd might be successful, but it would be faced by Soviet opposition throughout the country and the last state would be very much worse than the first.

Telegrams from England laying stress on what was to be hoped from the Constituent Assembly suggest imperfect knowledge of the actual situation, and particularly that the people of England have not realized that whereas the March revolution was an elemental rising without definite aim, the October revolution was a real revolution with a definite aim and definite ideas. The Constituent Assembly must be considered as the belated last act of the March rising accidentally persisting into the new era, begun by the October revolution.

DN. January 22, 1918.

The Crisis Passing.

Change of Government Not Desirable Just Now.

Petrograd, Monday.

M Trotsky returned to Petrograd from Brest-Litovsk yesterday. There is another ten- day interval in the negotiations.

Sunday.

The Anti- Bolshevik papers this morning announce in large print "the Constituent Assembly has declared Russia a federal democratic republic, has taken into its own hands further peace negotiations, has approached the Allies with an invitation to formulate the conditions of a general democratic peace, and has

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given all the land to the workers without purchases. Long live the Constituent Assembly."

As a matter of fact, not a single one of the Assemblies hurried decisions in any way affect the present state of affairs. The workers had already taken the land without purchases. The Assembly has no technical means either of closing the present stage of the peace negotiations or of starting a new stage. The Assembly has merely succeeded in proving that if it had the authority – it would make a further appeal to the Allies. But the Assembly failed to hold the meeting announced for 6 o'clock yesterday, and last night its fate was decided by the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, which passed decrees dissolving it on the ground that the remaining part of it can only act as a cover for the efforts of the bourgeois counter – revolution to overthrow the authority of the Soviets.

M. Sverdloff, in an extraordinarily well – reasoned speech, argued that Russia had made a gigantic step from Czarism then to the establishment of a Soviet of authority, which latter, as the history of the last 10 months has shown, is an extremely flexible representation of the country's will, providing organs both of local and central authority. An attempt to do away with this was made when, in the autumn, the old Moderate Executive Committee refused to take part in a revolution which definitely secured authority for the Soviets.

The Constituent Assembly in its present form belonged to the first revolution, and represents precisely those tendencies which were overthrown in October. Its action, therefore, would be retrograde, and could only end in handing the authority of the Soviets back to the bourgeoisie. For the moment, anyhow, the authority of the Soviets is unshaken, and I am inclined to think that from the point of view of Russia the crisis is passing better than could have been

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hoped. If the Soviets had submitted to the Assembly, which was actually a legacy of the revolution before their own, the result would have been the formation of a Republic without reality and a Government without power.

The whole good effect of Trotsky's negotiations would have been undone, since the Germans could have said that it was not the fault of their annexationist desires that peace was impossible, but the fault of the Russian inability to provide a stable Government. As for the Allies, they would once more have been in the old difficult position when dealing with the Miliukoff Government, which, while polite in the extreme, enjoyed no authority whatsoever. The Soviets at least have real authority.

Change Undesirable.

When opinion in the country really changes we shall find the character of the Soviets change. Until then a change in Government is undesirable. Any coup d'état in Petrograd might be successful, but it would be faced by Soviet opposition throughout the country, and the last state would be very much worse than the first.

A telegram from England laying stress on what is to be hoped from the Constituent Assembly suggest imperfect knowledge of the actual situation, and particularly that the people in England have not realized that whereas the March revolution was elemental, rising without definite aim, the October Revolution was a real revolution with the definite aim and definite ideas. The Constituent Assembly in its present form must be considered as a belated last act of the March rising accidentally persisting into the new era begun by the October Revolution.

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NYT. January 23, 1918.

Says Austrians Won't Fight Russians Again:

Bolshevik from Front Reports Great Fraternization, with hostility to Germans.

Petrograd, January 21.

Last night came the news that Poltava is now in Bolshevik hands. This means that Bolshevik influence has spread some hundred miles nearer Kiev, which is significant, seeing that the last news was that a determined attempt was being made, to drive the Bolsheviks out of Kharkov.

I talked last night with a Bolshevik who has just returned from the South. He declared that serious fighting between the Russians and Ukrainians was now unlikely, owing to the rapid spread of Bolshevism among the latter. The Rada was already divided against itself, and the Ukrainian Soviet organization was increasing in power.

On the southern and Rumanian front neither the Austro-German nor Russian officers have been able to keep fraternization within the agreed bounds. The enemy trenches are full of Russians, and the Russian trenches are full of the enemy. My informant believes it will be quite impossible to make the Austrians fight the Russians again.

"I have seen cases of actual fighting with artillery between Austrians and Germans," he said, "and it is not impossible that this may become an important factor in the event of any attempt to further the German advance."

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With, regard to starving Russian troops on the Rumanian front he confirms that this is the case with those Russian armies whose lines of communication were under Rumanian Control. These armies are now so disposing of themselves that their food and forage-supplies pass through Russian hands only.

He further confirms the rumors of a strong revolutionary movement among the Rumanians.

NYT. January 24, 1918.

Bury Petrograd Victims:

Funeral of Those Killed on Assembly Day Creates No Disturbance.

Petrograd, January 23.

Yesterday passed without disturbance. The funeral of the persons killed on the day of the Constituent Assembly was not interfered with in spite of the obvious desire on the part of the promoters of the funeral to provoke the Bolsheviki to interfere with them.

There were seven coffins, which were carried by bearers on foot the whole way to the Preobrajensky Cemetery, where they were buried in the same grave as those who were killed on January 22, 1905. The procession at first was a very small affair, but it increased considerably on its way through the factory quarters.

The Bolsheviks had arranged meetings in the factories, and very characteristically some factories sent wreaths for the funeral

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organized by the opponents of the Bolsheviks, but themselves remained en masse in order not to miss the Bolshevik meeting. In some factories, where the meeting had been arranged for early in the day, the workers were able to enjoy both the meeting and the funeral.

Owing to a thaw the roads were both slushy and slippery, and many only walked part of the eight miles covered by the main body.

NYT. January 24, 1918.

Lenine Appeals To The World:

Wants People of Germany and Austria to Know They Are Being Deceived.

Teutons Won't Withdraw:

Trotsky Says Berlin Seeks to Strangle Russia Economically and Politically.

Wilson Also Assailed:

Official organ Declares He and Lloyd George Seek to Subjugate Humanity to Capitalism.

Petrograd, January 21.

The official Izvestia today publishes a leader on "The Results of the Peace Negotiations," which recognizes that the Germans absolutely refuse any guarantee of the removal of troops from Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Riga, and the islands of Moon Sound. "Under these conditions," says Izvestia, "talk of self-definition is a mockery both of the principle and of the Peoples concerned."

The writer asked what was the object of the Austro-German

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Imperialist in "recognizing" the principle of a democratic peace. The answer he gave illustrates perfectly the standpoint of the Bolsheviks, both in relation to the enemy Governments and to our own.

"Their object was the same as that pursued by Messrs. Wilson, Lloyd George, and the other Allied imperialist in setting forth their 'democratic programs for the salvation of humanity under the high control of financial capital, and both on the one side and on the other the object was to hoodwink the awakening consciences of their own nations."

The writer proceeds to show how the Germans are trying to pretend that they are obeying the commands of the Reichstag majority, while actually they are pursuing their own end. The German annexationist assumed that Russia needed peace, and consequently that the Russian delegates would themselves try to give that peace an outward form that would not offend the democratic dignity of the Russian people. Counting thus on silent collaboration on the part of the Russians, Dr. von Kuhlmann "recognized" democratic principle. But the main assumption of imperialist diplomacy turned out to be entirely false. The Russian delegation came in order to learn from the actual, not the verbal, program of German imperialism and to publish this program to the peoples who are struggling toward an honorable peace.

"The revolution," he goes on, "cannot live by lies and trickery. The revolution at the present moment may not have the strength to throw aside the grabbing hands and repel the annexationist. But the revolution will never lower so as to call black white and to cover base pretensions to theft with a fig leaf of democratic verbiage."

The article ends with the words.

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"The Brest – Litovsk negotiations have made things perfectly clear. More than that could not be expected from the negotiations."

DN. January 25, 1918.

Hoffman's Threat.

To Occupy Reval Within a Week If German Terms Not Acceptable.

Krylenko, Orator.

The Little Orator.

Krylenko's Magnetic Hold Over and Audience.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

Yesterday passed without disturbance. The funeral of the persons killed on the opening of the Constituent Assembly was not interfered with, in spite of an obvious desire on the part of the promoters of the funeral to provoke the Bolsheviks to interfere with them. Seven coffins were carried by bearers on foot the whole way to Preobrajensky Cemetery, where they were buried in the same grave as those who were killed on January 22, 1905.

The procession at first was a very small affair, but it increased considerably on its way through the factory quarters. The Bolsheviks had arranged meetings in the factories, and, very characteristically, some factories sent wreaths for the funeral organized by the opponents of the Bolsheviks, but themselves remained en masse in order not to miss the Bolshevik meeting.

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A Barrack Meeting

While the anti– Bolsheviks were at the funeral the Bolsheviks were holding meetings in factories and barracks. I met a soldier hurrying along through the slush and asked him where Krylenko was speaking. He said he was on his way there. I went with him to the back door of some large barracks, and was taken by a soldier through passages and snow – clogged courtyards until at last, going up an inclined meant possibly for horses, we came to a sort of riding school with a little theatrical stage at one end soldiers, with a sprinkling of workmen had two or three women.

Suddenly there was a stir at the back of the hall, and a small group of officers hurried in on the heels of a little smiling, energetic, elderly man with gray fur hat set jauntily on his head. His military overcoat, of course, was without epaulets. The people began clapping. The group rushed through between the benches and went up on to the theatrical stage, where there was scenery from some play or other, an interior with white balls, gold panels, a green divan, and the table.

A young officer stepped forward and said, "I declare the meeting open. Comrade Krylenko will speak."

The little man flung off his overcoat, came to the table, began looking at some papers, and then suddenly, as if he had just made up his mind, walked round the table and began to speak easily and quietly, now and then taking a few steps each way before the table. Somehow, with his huge revolver on his hip, he reminded me of some kind of pirate king. He must have been the smallest man in the room. But he had the biggest revolver. He has something else, some extraordinary power over his audience, which, the moment he was speaking, made him for them, and for me, too, no longer a little enthusiastic, elderly man who, as I saw when he

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took his hat off, had a bald top to his gray hair, but part and parcel of what he had to say.

I have never heard any orator listened to by a Russian audience with such absolute attention as this little elderly Ensign Krylenko, Commander – in – Chief of the Russian Army. He is a finished artist as orator, this little genius who could hold the audience of simple Russian soldiers breathlessly interested for an hour and a half while he put before them the whole complex political situation.

He has the faculty of making his speech visible. When he spoke of the shame of the murderers of Shingareff and Kokcabkin he became the murder, and without interrupting his speech, even by dramatic pause, he made the whole audience say in his horrified glimpses some monster holding a pistol at the sleeping man in bed.

"A blot on the revolution was these

NYT. January 26, 1918.

Says Bolshevik! Are Against The World:

Krylenko Declares Russians Will Not Be Cannon Fodder to Aid Allied Imperialists.'

Petrograd, January 23, (Delayed.)

While the anti-Bolsheviks were at the funeral yesterday of the victims of Assembly Day, the Bolsheviks were holding meetings. I went to the barracks where Krylenko was addressing a meeting of soldiers with a sprinkling of workmen and two or three women.

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I never heard any orator listened to try a Russian audience with such absolute attention as this little elderly Ensign Krylenko, Commander in Chief of the Russian Army. He is a finished artist as an orator, this little genius, who could hold an audience of simple Russian soldiers breathlessly interested for an hour and a half while he put before them the whole complex political situation. When he spoke of the shame of the murderers of Shingaroff and Kokoshkine he became the murderer, and without interrupting his speech even by a dramatic pause, he made the whole audience see in his horrified glimpse some monster holding a pistol at the sleeping man in bed.

"A blot on the revolution were these killings," said he. "That does not mean that there should be no killing in the revolution."

He denounced those who tried to compare the deaths of the demonstrators of last Friday with the deaths of the demonstrators killed by the Czar's Government on Jan, 22, 1905. No such comparison was possible. Friday's demonstrations had as their ultimate object not the workers of the revolution, but the death of the workers of the revolution and the return of authority into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

"Remember, that this revolution of yours is more dangerous to the propertied classes than any other revolution," he went on.

"In 1871 the French workmen seized power for the moment, but the propertied classes were able to set other French workers to fight against them. They were overthrown and paid for the momentary sovereignty of the working classes with their blood. Yet theirs was only a little revolution. The blood that ran in Paris after the Commune was a drop beside the rivers of blood of Russian workmen that will run here if the rival propertied classes

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have a chance of taking their revenge. In your blood we shall pay if we fail.

"There is no help for us except from ourselves. Our allies care nothing about our revolution. When they heard we were breaking off the peace negotiations and forming a volunteer army they picked up their ears. First, the English and then the French came and. said to me:

'You are going to raise an army?'

"Yes."

"Will it fight?'

"We hope so."

"What about money?"

"Yes, they were willing to pay us money for fighting for our revolution, thinking that no matter what we fought for, if we fought we should be useful to themselves. But we shall not be cannon fodder so that the allied imperialists may celebrate a victory. We are against the whole world and we shall fight for the revolution and for the revolution alone."

NYT. January 28, 1918.

Trotsky's Party the Only Hope for a Rupture:

He May Decide It Personally.

Petrograd, January 26

The All-Russian Assembly at its last two sessions has been marking time while waiting for a discussion of the vital question of war or peace. Trotsky's on the peace negotiations are expected

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tonight, after which will be decided the question of a separate peace or a holy war.

Inch by inch Russia, or rather the band of idealists who are, striving to overcome the apathy of the masses and the active resistance of the privileged and propertied classes are being forced into an impossible position. By non-recognition, or rather by the non-establishment of some means of direct contact, we only put a new weapon into the hands of those who, favoring peace at all costs, are opposed, to the Bolsheviki.

The Bolsheviki would have been weaker in their influence on the proletariats of the Central Empires if they had not been careful to be as rude to the allied Governments as they were to the Austro-German. From the point of view of mere expediency we should have looked beyond the insult.

Non-recognition of the Bolsheviki has strengthened the Rada, and apparently because the Rada was bourgeois and opposed to the Bolsheviks, the Allies seem to have assumed it should be supported. It is precisely because the Rada is bourgeois, and therefore unhampered, by uncompromising ideals that it is at this minute concluding a separate peace with Austria, and thereby almost compelling a separate peace of Russia as a whole.

The outcry against civil war, which was loud enough in Russia, was strengthened by the pious hopes of the English labor members that the Constituent Assembly would put an end to that very civil war, on the success of which depends the power of the soviets to prevent the Ukraine from making a separate peace.

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"Eight Months' Chorus of Libel."

An eight months' chorus of organized libel in the Russian press is probably mainly responsible for most of our misunderstandings of the Bolsheviki. There are also other excuses in the fact that by the nature of things our information was mostly taken from persona belonging to the classes of the population who had most to lose from Bolshevism and suffer most from the dictatorship of labor. However that may be, those misunderstandings contribute to make the situation critical at the present moment.

Yesterday it became clear that there was a split in the Bolsheviks. Some consider, in view of the isolation of Russia, the separate peace aimed at by the Rada, and military weakness, that Russia is compelled to make peace. I spent most of yesterday talking with various groups in the Taurida Palace and came to the conclusion, even among the Bolsheviks who when the petrol runs out are ready to hitch their motors to the wildest stars and continue on their way, there is a movement of despair in face of the increasing odds. This movement so far is small. I gather that the majority of the Bolsheviki, together with the allied Social Revolutionaries of the Left, is prepared, even in the present appalling circumstances, to take up Germany's challenge, break off negotiations finally, and enter on a period "of revolutionary defense."

I believe the ultimate decision will lie with Trotzky, whose personal influence is enormous, and Trotzky's opinion will be swayed, not by considerations of military possibilities or personal safety, but solely by the question whether peace or desperate war will best serve the universal revolution. In forecasting Trotzky's action it is necessary always to remember that he would sacrifice Russia to save Europe and Europe to save the world, and that for him salvation and social revolution mean the same thing.

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The actual position with regard to peace may be stated thus: The Ukrainian Rada corresponds pretty well to the Milukoff Government in Russia after the revolution. It is opposed by an increasingly strong Soviet organization in. Ukraine. Being a Government of propertied, and privileged classes it fears the Bolsheviks far more than the Austrians. Before the revolution its elements looked toward Austria for protection against the Czar. They are now looking toward Austria for protection against the Bo1sheviki.

The result is that they would be glad to conclude peace on business terms, as distinct from the idealistic terms of Petrograd. Thus their position breaks the unity of the Russian idealistic front and enormously strengthens Germany's hands, besides giving the Austrians material with which to quench any out breaks of revolutionary fire which might follow the failure of negotiations.

The Germans announce that an agreement with the Ukraine Rada has already been reached, The Austrians say it is on the point of being reached,

If it is reached, the Ukrainian Rada will have the signal honor of having arrested the revolution in Austria and placed the Soviet Government of Russia in a desperate position. The whole question of peace now turns on whether the Rada, succeeds in obtaining peace before the Soviet movement in Ukraine displaces it and brings the Ukraine into line with Russia in support of Trotzky's policy.

This is the explanation of Russia's demand for an interval in the negotiations, and for the demand, which has been refused by the Central Powers, for an extension of that interval by five days. The object of the Russians is to gain time to allow the Soviet movement to conquer inside Ukraine. This further explains the

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arrival at Brest-Litovsk of the new peace delegation from the Ukrainian Soviets, denying that the Rada has any right to speak for the Ukraine.

The object is, of course, to lessen the confidence of the Austrians in dealing with the Rada. The support being given to the Ukrainian Rada by the Rumanians, who also fear a revolution, is actually support of that section of the population of Southern Russia which is eager to conclude a separate peace.

If the Soviet movement, in time to prevent this, the Soviet representatives of Ukraine will work in alliance with this Russian delegation at Brest-Litovsk. and the Central Powers will be balked of the victory which is now almost within their grasp.

If the Rada, wins by making a separate peace establishing contacts with Russia, it is difficult to foresee what, Russia can do. Ukrainian corn, which would prevent final starvation in Petrograd, where already there is an epidemic of spotted typhus, owing to lack of nourishment will be diverted from Russia into Austria. Russia will be at Germany's mercy, and, the main strength of the Russian position inside Germany will be gone, namely, the belief in Germany and Austria that the annexationist demands of their Governments were the only obstacle to peace.

I fear the result will be despair here and possible collapse of the Government, which, from Germany's point of view, is highly desirable. The result would be. anarchy of an appalling kind, after which the German imperialistic party would be strengthened immeasurably at home and would gain an easy control over the whole of Northern Russia, just as the Austrians will, by helping the Rada against the Soviets, obtain control over Ukraine.

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The only way by which: the Allies could prevent this would be by joining the peace conference and backing Trotsky's position so that the question in Germany should be more serious than that merely of a separate peace. If there were unity of an idealistic front so that the Germans knew that only by discarding their Imperialistic Government they could get peace at all Russia might be saved, the democratic movement in the Central Empires might be saved, and the German dream of Mitteleuropa would dissolve into mist just when it is on the point of becoming a reality.

The Germans have known throughout that Russia is almost helpless. If action were taken on the suggested line they would know we were, on the contrary, perfectly ready to continue the war unless they could bring their Generals to heel.

DN. January 28, 1918.

The Allies And The Bolsheviks.

Perils Of a Separate Peace.

What The Ukraine Means.

[In another long and illuminative dispatch our Special Correspondent in Petrograd states that "the question of peace or a holy war" was to have been decided by the All-Russian Assembly of Soviets on Saturday night. Mr. Ransome discusses the relations of the Entente Governments with the Bolsheviks, and shows how vital may be this decision on the future course of the war.

The ultimate decision, Mr. Ransome thinks will be with Mr. Trotsky, but a great deal will depend upon whether the Central Powers are able to make a separate peace with Ukraine. In that

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event the isolation of the Bolsheviks and the menace of famine would place Russiaa at Germany's mercy.

Mr. Ransome suggests that the only way to revert this would be for the Allies to join the Peace Conference with Russia-action that would have an over-whelming effect on the German people.]

Ukraine Danger.

Critical Position of the Bolsheviks

Petrograd, Saturday.

The All – Russian Assembly at the last two sessions has been marking time more or less noisily while waiting for the discussion of the vital question of war or peace. M. Trotsky's report on the peace negotiations is expected tonight, after which will be decided the question of a separate peace or a holy war.

Inch by inch Russia, or, rather, the band of idealist who, with more threats and bayonets are striving to overturn the apathy of the masses and the active resistance of the privileged and propertied classes, are being forced into an impossible position. By non–recognition, or, rather, by the non– establishment of some means of direct contact, we have only put a new weapon into the hands of those who, favoring peace at all cost, are opposed to the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks would have been weaker in their influence on the proletariats of the Central Empires if they had not been careful to be as rude to the Allied Governments as they were to the Austro – German. From the point of view of mere expediency we should have looked beyond the insults. ??? the Bolsheviks has strengthened the Rada , and apparently because the Rada was bourgeois and opposed to the Bolsheviks, the Allies seemed to have assumed that it should be supported. It is precisely because

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the Rada is bourgeois, and therefore unhampered by uncompromising ideals that it is at this minute concluding a separate piece with Austria, and thereby almost compelling a separate peace of Russia as a whole.

British Labor's Hopes.

The outcry against civil war, which is loud enough in Russia, is strengthened by the pious hopes of English Labor members that the Constituent Assembly would put an end to that very civil war on the success of which depends the power of the Soviets to prevent the Ukraine from making a separate peace. Eight months chorus of organized liars in the Russian Press is probably mainly responsible for most of our misunderstandings of the Bolsheviks. There are also other excuses in the fact that by the nature of the thing our information is mostly taken from persons belonging to classes of the population who have most to lose from Bolshevism, and suffer most from the dictatorship of labor. However that may be, those misunderstandings contribute to make the situation critical at the present moment.

Yesterday it became clear that there is a split in the Bolsheviks. Some consider that in view of the isolation of Russia, this separate peace aimed at by the Rada and military weakness, Russia is compelled to make peace. I spent most of yesterday talking with various groups in the Tauris Palace, and came to the conclusion that even among the Bolsheviks who when petrol runs out are ready to hitch their motors to the wildest stars and continue on their way. There is a movement of despair, in face of the increasing odds. This movement is so far small. I gathered that the majority of the Bolsheviks together with the allied Social Revolutionaries of the Left are prepared, even in the present appalling circumstances, to take up Germany's challenge, break off negotiations finally, and enter on a period of revolutionary

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defense. I believe the ultimate decision will be with M. Trotsky, whose personal influence is enormous. And M. Trotsky's opinion will be swayed not by considerations of military possibilities, or personal safety, but solely by the question of whether peace or desperate war will best serve the revolution.

Trotsky's Aims.

In forecasting M. Trotsky's action it is necessary always to remember that he would sacrifice Russia to save Europe, and Europe to save the world, and that for him salvation and social revolution mean the same thing. The actual position with regard to peace may be stated thus. The Ukrainian Rada corresponds pretty nearly to the Miliukoff Government in Russia after the revolution. It is opposed by an increasingly strong Soviet organization in the Ukraine. Being a Government of the propertied and privileged classes it fears the Bolsheviks far more than the Austrians. Before the Revolution its elements looked towards Austria for protection against the Czar. They are now looking towards Austria for protection against the Bolsheviks. The result is that they would be glad peace on business terms, as distinct from the idealistic terms of Petrograd. Thus their position breaks the unity of the Russian idealistic front, and enormously strengthens German hands, besides giving the Austrians material with which to quench any outbreaks of revolutionary fire which might follow the failure of negotiations.

The Germans announce that agreement with Ukrainian Rada has already been reached. The Austrians say it is on the point of being reached. If it is reached the Ukrainian Rada will have the signal honor of having arrested revolution in Austria and placed the Soviet Government of Russia in a desperate position. The whole question of peace now turns on whether the Rada succeeds in securing peace before the Soviet movement in the Ukraine

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displaces it and brings the Ukraine in the line with Russia in support of M. Trotsky's policy.

This is the explanation of Russia's demand for an interval in the negotiations, and for the the demand, which has been refused by the Central Powers, for an extension of that interval by five days. The object of the Russians is to gain time to allow the Soviet movement to conquer inside the Ukraine. This further explains the arrival at Brest of the new peace delegation from the Ukrainian Soviets, denying that the Rada has any right to speak for the Ukraine. The object is, of course, to lessen the confidence of the Austrians in dealing with the Rada. The support being given to the Ukrainian Rada by the Romanians, who also fear a revolution, is actually the support of that section of the population of Southern Russia which is eager to conclude a separate peace.

Appalling Anarchy.

If the Soviet movement succeeds in time to prevent this, the Soviet representatives of the Ukraine will work in alliance with the Russian delegation at Brest and the Central Powers will be balked of the victory which is now almost within their grasp. If the Rada wins by making a separate peace, establishing contact with Austria, it is difficult to foresee what Russia can do. The Ukrainian corn, which would prevent final starvation in Petrograd, where already there is an epidemic of spotted typhus owing to lack of nourishment, will be diverted from Russia into Austria. Russia will be at Germany's mercy, and the main strength of the Russian position inside Germany will be guns – namely, the belief in Germany and Austria that the annexationist demands of their Governments were the only obstacles to peace. I fear that the result will be despair here, and possible collapse of the Government – which, from Germany's point of view, is highly desirable. The result would be anarchy of an appalling kind, after

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which the German Imperialist would be strengthened immeasurably at home, and would gain easy control over the whole of Northern Russia, just as the Austrians will be helping the Rada against the Soviets given control over the Ukraine.

DN. January 30, 1918.

Trotsky's Pledge.

Declares He Will Sign Only a Democratic Peace.

All – Russian Assembly: Impressive Scenes.

[M. Trotsky has made his attitude still more clear by a statement to the All – Russian Congress of the Soviets. He declared he would not sign a non-democratic peace, the sort of peace all the other Governments would prefer. The Ukrainian Rada, he added, was the weak point on the Russian side. Information is to hand, however, that with the resignation of the Secretariat – General of the Rada the Ukrainian delegation will be changed.]

Petrograd, Sunday.

Last night came the culminating moment of the tension of the preceding week. The report on the peace negotiations, which was held over from day to day for reasons of policy affecting not merely Petrograd but also Brest, Kieff, and Vienna, was definitely announced. The session opened with the announcement that Marie Spiridonova would speak for the peasants. All the guests' seats throughout the building were given to members of the Peasants Assembly, so that M. Trotsky, when he finally made his report, spoke not to soldiers and workmen only, but also to the Peasants Assembly, which, in spite of the prognostications of the anti– Bolsheviks, has an overwhelming Bolshevik majority and supports the action of the Soviets in sweeping away the Constituent Assembly. The Peasants Assembly perfectly

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understands that the Constituent Assembly intended to take a step backwards, not forwards.

After M. Zinoviev had welcomed the peasants, the Internationale was sung. Then there was a moments pause and M. Trotsky was at the tribune. When the roars of applause had ended he began quietly and clearly his exposition of the history, method, aims, and results of the peace negotiations. He pointed out that the Allies had 2 1/2 months in which they could have come in and that Kerensky's repeated efforts to move the Allies towards peace had proved absolutely fruitless. The object of the conference was to make the actual obstacles to peace clear, not only for the peoples of the hospital countries, but also for the Russian people.

Russia's Weak Point.

The Germans, by presenting an ultimatum in the form of a refusal to continue discussions anywhere but at Brest hoped to make the Russians break on the excuse which would cloud the issue for the German working classes. Then he touched on the weak point of the Russian side – namely, the delegation from the Ukrainian Rada.

"We asked them, like ourselves, to hold unpublished conversations with the enemy," he said. "They said they would consult Kieff before answering. That answer we have never received, in spite of repeated requests."

M. Trotsky read a telegram showing that M. Albert Thomas even today believes that the patriotic Rada is going to save Russia from making a separate peace, when as a matter of fact the Rada was concluding a separate peace itself. Then, after mentioning three distinct tendencies in Germany, he said the main point on which the discussion hang fire is the refusal of Germany to name a date for the removal of the troops. He sketched the line which the

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Germans intended should be the new frontiers, and said it was so planned estimate further German aggression easy.

"The whole system of the German argument," he said, "is based on the assumption that the Russian government would understand, but be silent and grateful to the Germans for saving their faces by giving a marked democratic character to their peace."

Then came the decisive moment. M. Trotsky threw his head back, and stood a figure of incomparable energy. "Bourgeois Governments," he declared, "can sign any kind of peace. A Government of Soviets cannot." In that whole last assembly there was but a handful of men who disagreed. M. Trotsky continued saying that was to the interest of all the other governments that a non— democratic peace should be signed.

The Rumanian Trouble.

He pointed to Rumania, where Rumanian troops isolate, starve, and fire on Russian troops and for the sake of preventing a revolution were prepared to seize Bessarabia thus making possible compensation elsewhere, with a view to non— democratic peace. He announced that the Soviet Government replied by seizing the Rumanian gold fund in Moscow, over which they have set a trusty guard. This wealth will be handed over to the Rumanian people. The Rumanian Embassy is to be ejected from Russia. General Tcherhatcheff , the Commander on the Rumanian front, is to be outlawed.

[Later news which we published yesterday was to the effect that relations with Rumania have been broken off.]

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"Yes," he continued "we have plenty of enemies. Either we shall be destroyed or the power of the bourgeoisie throughout Europe will be destroyed. We have left the Imperialistic war, and shall never return to it."

With regard to further steps, he asked to be allowed free action. In any case, he will not sign a non– democratic peace. The session closed on a note of tremendous enthusiasm and hope for the world revolution. Discussion today will show how far the Soviet is prepared to support M. Trotsky and actual did.

Left For Brest.

Petrograd, Monday, 12:35.

M. Trotsky left Petrograd for Brest –Litovsk in the early hours of this morning, after replying to such criticism as there was in the debate of the All – Russian Assembly of Soviets on peace negotiations. He took with him the knowledge that he had succeeded in getting his policy not only approved, but also understood by all but a small handful of the representative assembly.

Feeling in the assembly was very curious. Kameneff began with a speech which struck the same note as that of Trotsky on the previous day. He emphasized throughout the new grouping of forces in the world, the struggle which is ceasing to be a struggle of one imperialistic group against another, but, in Europe anyhow, a struggle of the general proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The alliance is formed by the various national bourgeoisies for the purpose of the imperialistic struggle had lost their significance. In the light of this change both in the Central group and in that opposed to it. "We welcome the rising of the Austrian workmen, and shall welcome their emancipation from Austro – German

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imperialism exactly as we shall welcome the escape of the Irish people from the imperialism of England."

That is the main significance of the Brest negotiations. He read a statement from the Austrian Social Patriots, who had at the beginning of the war supported their Government, which showed that they now realized that the Russians and Germans could not come to terms, not because they were Russians opposed to Germans, but because they were Social Democrats dealing with landowners and bourgeoisie. The Brest negotiations had shown, the working classes of the Central Empires that their own at first were being opposed by their own Generals, and that they had to choose between war with Russia and peace with Hoffmann or peace with Russia and war with Hoffmann. "Our victory will be the victory of the German democracy, and the German democracy knows it."

Making The Position Clear.

Martoff and others of the bitterest opponents of the Bolsheviks followed, and, while criticizing details in the management of the negotiations, agreed that they had been of tremendous service in making the position clear to democracy throughout the world. All were unanimous on the refusal to accept the conditions now offered by Germany. There was less unanimity on what was to be done. Some delegates insisted on the physical impossibility of fighting.

"A Masterpiece."

Petrograd, Monday. 12:35p.m.

M. Trotsky's speech was a masterpiece of dialectic and exposition and also diplomacy, since he was able to say so much, and to

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silence his opponents without giving away essential secrets. My position was immediately behind and above the Presidium looking down on M. Trotsky's muscular shoulders and great head and the occasional gestures of his curiously small hands. Beyond him was that the sea of men – soldiers in green gray shirts, workers collarless or in jerseys, others dressed very much like British workmen, peasants and belted red shirts and high – top boots—all picked, and not elected for this assembly alone, but proved and tested in the local Soviets that had chosen them as delegates. And as I watched that amazing crowd filled the huge hall and pack the galleries following point by point M. Trotsky's exposition of the international and inter— class situations and the policy of the revolution, I felt I would willingly give the rest of my life if it could be divided into minutes and given to men in England and France so that those of little faith who say that Russian Revolution is discredited can share for one moment such a wonderful experience.

NYT. January 31, 1918.

**Trotsky Returns To Peace Parley:
Has Backing of Congress of Soviets in His Stand Against the
Germans.**

Peace At Any Cost:

**Says Teutons Assumed Terms Disguised as Democratic Would
Satisfy Bolsheviks.**

Petrograd, January 28, (Delayed.)

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Foreign Minister Trotzky left Petrograd for Brest-Litovsk in the early hours of the morning after replying to such criticism as there was in the debate of the all-Russian Assemble of Soviets on the peace negotiations. He took with him the knowledge that he had succeeded in getting his policy not only approved but also understood by all but a small handful of the representative Assembly.

The feeling in the Assembly was very curious. Kamenev began with a speech which struck the same note as had been struck by Trotzky the previous day, though in a lower key. He emphasized throughout the new grouping of the forces in the world struggle, which he said was ceasing to be a struggle of one imperialistic group against another, but in Europe, anyhow, was a struggle of the general proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The alliances formed by various national bourgeoisie for the purpose of the imperialistic struggle had lost their significance in the light of this change both in the Central group and in that opposed to it.

"We welcome the rising of Austrian workmen and shall welcome their emancipation from Austro-German imperialism exactly as we shall welcome the escape of the Irish people from the imperialism of England," he went on. "That is the main significance of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations."

He read a statement from Austrian social patriots who had at the beginning of the war supported their Government, which showed that they now realized that the Russians and Germans could not come to terms, not because they were Russians opposed to Germans, but because they were Social Democrats dealing with landowners and bourgeois. The Brest - Litovsk negotiations had shown the working classes of the Central Empires that their own interests were being opposed by their own Generals, and that they had to choose; between war with Russia and a peace with

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Hoffmann, or peace with Russia and war with Hoffmann. Our victory will be the victory of German democracy, and German democracy knows it," he continued.

All Against Germany's Terms.

Martov and others of the bitterest opponents of the Bolsheviks followed, and while criticizing details in the management of the negotiations, agreed that they had been of tremendous service its making the position clear to democracy throughout the world. All were unanimous in refusal to accept the conditions now offered by Germany, There was less unanimity on what was to be done, some delegates insisting on the physical impossibility of fighting.

Last night occurred the culminating moment of the tension of the preceding week. On the peace negotiations, which had been held over from day to day for reasons of policy, affecting not merely Petrograd but also Brest-Litovsk, Kiev, and Vienna, was definitely announced. The session opened with the announcement that Spiridonova would speak for the Peasants. All the guests' seats throughout the building had been given to members of the Peasants' Assembly, so that Trotzky when he finally made his, spoke not to the Soldiers and Workers only, but also to the Peasants' Assembly, which, in spite of the prognostications of the anti-Bolsheviki has an over whelming Bolshevik majority, and supports the action of the Soviets in sweeping away the Constituent Assembly. The Peasants' Assembly perfectly understands that the Constituent Assembly intended to step backwards, not forwards.

After Zinoviev had welcomed the Peasants there was singing of the " Internationale." Then a moment's pause and Trotzky was at the tribune, and when the roars of applause had ended he began quietly and clearly his exposition of the history, method, aims, and

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results off the peace negotiations, He pointed out that the Allies had two and one-half months in which they could have come in. He pointed out that Kerensky's repeated efforts to move the Allies toward peace had proved absolutely fruitless. The object of the conference was to make the actual obstacles to peace clear, not only for the peoples of the hostile countries, but also for the Russian people.

He pointed out how the Germans by presenting an ultimatum in the form a refusal to continue the discussions anywhere but at Brest—Litovsk hoped to make the Russians break on an excuse which would cloud the issue for the German working classes.

He touched on the weak point of the Russian side, namely the delegation from the Ukrainian Rada.

"We asked them, like ourselves, to hold no unpublished conversations with the enemy," he explained. "They said they would consult Kiev before answering. That answer we have never received in spite of repeated requests."

He read a telegram showing that Albert Thomas (former French Minister of Munitions) even today believes that the patriotic Rada is going to save Russia from signing a separate peace, when, as a matter of fact, the Rada is concluding a separate peace itself. Then, after mentioning three distinct tendencies in Germany, he said that the main point on which the discussions hung was the refusal of Germany to name a date for the removal of troops. He sketched the line which the Germans intended to show to be the new frontiers and said it was so planned as to make further German aggression easy.

"The whole system of the German argument was based on the assumption that the Russian Government would understand, but

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be silent and grateful to the Germans for saving their faces by giving a mock democratic character .to their peace," he said.

**Then came the decisive, moment. Trotsky threw his head back and stood a figure of incomparable energy as he said
"The bourgeois Governments can sign a kind of peace. The Government of the Soviets cannot."**

**In that whole vast assembly there was but a handful of men who disagreed. Trotsky, continued, saying that it was in the Interests of all other Governments that a non-democratic peace :should be signed. He pointed. to Rumania, where Rumanian troops, he said, isolated and starved and fired on Russian troops and, for the sake of preventing a revolution, were prepared to seize Bessarabia., thus making possible compensation elsewhere with a view to a non-democratic peace. He announced the action which the Soviet Government had decided to take against Rumania and went on
"Yes, we have plenty of enemies. Either we shall be destroyed or the power of the bourgeoisie throughout Europe will be destroyed. We have left the imperialistic war and shall never return to it." With regard to further steps he asked to be allowed free action. In any case he will not sign a, non-democratic peace.**

The session closed on a note of tremendous enthusiasm and hope for the world revolution. The discussion today will show how far the Soviets are prepared to support Trotsky in actual deed.

Trotsky's speech was a masterpiece of dialectic and exposition, and also of diplomacy, since he was able to say so much and to silence his opponents without giving away essential secrets.

My position was immediately behind and above the praesidium, looking down on Trotsky's muscular shoulders, his great head and the occasional gestures of his. curiously small hands. Beyond him

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was that sea of men, soldiers in green shirts, workers collarless or in jerseys, others dressed very much like British workmen, peasants belted with red shirts and high top boots—all picked men, not elected for this assembly alone, but proved and tested in the local Soviets that had chosen them as delegates. And as I watched that amazing crowd that filled the huge hall and packed the galleries, following point by point Trotsky's exposition of the international and interclass situation and the policy of the revolution, I felt I would willingly give the rest of my life if it could be divided into minutes and given to men in England and France, so that those of little faith who say that the Russian revolution is discredited could share for one minute each that wonderful experience.

DN. January 31, 1918.

Central Powers And Rumania.

Rumor of a Separate Agreement.

Brest Resumption.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The "Pravda" this morning published a rumor that Rumania about a month ago came to a separate agreement with the Central Empires, and suggests that this agreement may include compensation for Rumania in Bessarabia.

Very contradictory reports are on hand with regard to the Ukraine. All, however, agree that Rada's delegation had come to terms with the Central Empires. It is not so clear what actually happened to the Rada itself. There have been resignations, and a Coalition Rada is possible. At the same time, the Ukrainian Soviets are determined to abolish the Rada altogether; their Brest delegation is to work in absolute unity with the Russians. They further

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announce that the Rada's agreement cannot be carried into effect against the will of the Soviets. It remains to be seen whether the Rada will be able to strengthen its position by having a separate bourgeois peace in the hand instead of a Soviet a democratic peace in the bush.

In Finland a social revolution similar in its aim to the November revolution here is still in progress. The Finnish Bourgeois Senate has fled from Helsingfors. Russian troops have mostly remained neutral, but where the Bourgeois White Guards are in the ascendancy they are disarming the Russians. Forces in Finland are very equally balanced, and a comparatively painless revolution, like that of the Russian Bolsheviks, is, therefore, unlikely.

In Helsingfors a Socialist Government has been formed, but fighting continues not only there, but also in the Viborg district.

More and more of the Cossacks are declaring themselves on the side of the Bolsheviks. A deputation from Cossack regiments opposed to General Kaledin was received by the All – Russian Assembly. Cossack troops returning both to the Urals and to the Don country almost always throw their weight on the side of recognition of the Soviet Government.

DN. February 1, 1918

The Rumanian Break.

Endeavor to Avoid the Revolution.

Petrograd, Tuesday. (Delayed.)

Further rumors as to the departure of the Allied Embassies in connection with the Russian break with Rumania appeared in the

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evening papers. These rumors dismay and astonish the Bolsheviks, because the departure of the Embassies would be used against them politically. They are astonished because in this instance, as in the struggle with the Ukrainian Rada, the Bolshevik actions tend to embarrass the Central Empires, not the Allies.

Their view of the Case Is This: Rumania has long been on the verge of a badly needed revolution. Consequently, the Rumanian landowners do all in their power to raise hostility between the Russians and the Rumanians with a view of stopping the infection of revolt. The Rumanian propertied classes see that their interest are now bound up with obtaining support from the Central Empires to enable them to withstand the revolutionary influence of Russia among the Rumanian working people. They are therefore preparing to seize Bessarabia with the collusion of the Bessarabian landowners in order to be able to compensate themselves for the loss of the Dobrudia to the expected peace terms.

According to the Bolsheviks, the struggle of Rumania against Austria has turned into a class struggle, where the interest of the Austrian Government and the Rumanian propertied classes are identical. They are astonished that we seem ready to support the Rumanian propertied classes even when supporting them we are actually working in the interest of the Central Empires.

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NYT. February 1, 1918.

Bolshevist Army Captures Kiel:

Seat of Hostile Ukrainian Rada Said to Have Surrendered to the Besiegers.

Crimean Towns Also Fall:

Cossack Regiments Deserting Kaledine----Constitution for Soviet Republic of Russia Adopted.

Petrograd, January 30.

The Pravda this morning published a rumor that Rumania about a month ago came to a separate agreement with the Central Empires and suggests that this agreement may include compensation for Rumania in Bessarabia.

More and more of the Cossacks are declaring themselves on the side of the Bolsheviks. A deputation from forty-six Cossack regiments opposed to General Kaledine has been received by the All-Russian Assembly. Cossack troops returning to the Urals and to the Don country almost always throw their weight on the side of recognition of the Soviet Government.

Trotsky's announcement that the Soviets of Ukraine are sending their own delegation to Brest-Litovsk, which should work in complete unity with the Russian delegation, was received with great joy. This news means the failure of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie to break the Russian front trying to make a separate peace on lines of practical bargaining for themselves. It means that once more the Central Empires area faced by Russia as a whole, which is prepared to stand or fall by the principles of the revolution.

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The only weak point now is Rumania, where, it is said, the propertied classes are preparing a basis of peace which shall put them wider the protection of the central autocracies and save them from the rising tide of revolt.

Bolsheviki Take Several Towns.

London. January 31.--Kiev, the seat of the Ukrainian Rada, which for some time past has been invested by the Bolshevik troops who are engaged against the Ukrainians, has surrendered. A dispatch to The Exchange Telegraph from Petrograd, dated Thursday, says:

"Bolshevik forces entered Kiev last night. They have occupied the Arsenal. The town surrendered after four shots had been fired."

It is announced that after the recent capture of Bachmatsch Station by the Bolsheviks the officers of the nobility withdrew to Kiev. The Ukrainian Rada is said to have lost confidence in the Ukrainian soldiers. Workmen are now organizing a white Guard in the Ukraine under Russian and Polish officers, who had been reduced to the ranks in the Russian Army.

The capture of the towns of Kertch, Theodosia, and Yalta, in the Crimea is claimed by the Bolsheviks. It is said that the Cossack General Dutov has been defeated and the capture of Orenburg is imminent. Special dispatches from Petrograd concur in the belief that all the Cossacks, will declare themselves on the side of the Bolsheviks. The reports give instances of growing adhesion and forecast the downfall of the Government of General Kaledine.

Those opposed to the Bolsheviks, according to the Petrograd correspondent of The Daily Express, admit a growing conviction that the Bolsheviks have come to stay, "if not permanently, at least an inconveniently long time." He says the Bolsheviks have won the

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confidence and support of the people as the Provisional Government, never did, and have also struck a popular note on the question of peace. He adds:

"It is more or less generally acknowledged here, with mingled joy and gloom, that the power of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils is no empty feast, as many know to their cost."

The Constitutional Democratic Party the correspondent adds, is. the only serious menace to the power of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, ." but though Russia is a land of miracles, it would be a miracle indeed if the Constitutional Democrats turn the scale against the strenuous Bolsheviki."

NYT. February 3,1918.

**Bolsheviki Plan Army With Care:
Only Those Fully Supporting the Revolution Will Be Taken Into Its Ranks.**

**Defense Of Soviet System:
Declared to be Most Natural for Russia and to Have Met Test in This Revolution.**

Petrograd February 1.

The published series of decrees and orders today were concerned with the raising of a volunteer army. It is to be called the Red Army of Workers and Peasants. Each volunteer will get 50 rubles a month, all found, and those members of his family who are unable to earn a living properly will be provided for.

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The new army will be, in fact, a development of the Red Guard. Particular care is being taken to prevent unsuitable enlistment. Each volunteer must have recommendations showing that he actually is convinced of the justice of the revolutionary cause and is prepared to risk his life for the Soviet Government. Special regulations are provided with regard to the enlistment of bodies of men. The organizers realize the danger of taking into the Red Army solid lumps of the old army, which readily volunteer in a moment of enthusiasm under the influence of oratory, and when it came to action might be a weakening rather than a strengthening influence.

The main point of the Red Army is, that it is to be one every man of which both understands and cares for the principles of the revolution. For this reason it is easy to foresee that it will be recruited mostly from the towns. The masses of the old peasant army do not care two pence about the European or even the Russian proletariat. They want land, and having got it they will want law and order to ensure them the opportunity of working it. With that their interest in the revolution ceases.

Things are, however, different with the factory workers and with the fleet, which is mainly recruited from the more or less educated townsfolk. The bulk of the sailors not only support the revolution, but understand it.

The formation of the Red Army will strengthen the Soviet movement by making it independent of the casual sympathies of the Petrograd garrison. For that reason the parties opposed to the Soviet Government are doing their utmost to put difficulties in the way, regardless of the fact that such an army is necessary to hold the vanishing front line in case of a final break in the peace negotiations.

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Thus the Cadet Retch, referring to the efforts of the Bolsheviks to see that their recruits are genuine enthusiasts and not mere hunters of 50 rubles a month, compares the Red Army to a corps of gendarmes of autocracy. Opponents of the Bolsheviki similarly use all means of fanning jealousy between the garrison and the Red Guard. Finally, the starvation of Petrograd is carefully attributed to the Bolsheviki, in spite of the fact that they actually are doing more to obtain food for the capital than could be done by any weaker coalition that might nominally take their place, but would actually be helpless without the Soviet organization.

It is now possible to sum up the main results of the third all-Russian Assembly of Soviets. Objection to the coalition has now a reasoned basis since the Assembly recognizes that this is a transition period in the final struggle between the workers and the capitalists, and that, therefore, the workers cannot, without weakening themselves, admit into their organization the representatives of the capitalist classes, whose exploitation of labor they are now determined to end. At least during this transition period Russia must be ruled by the workers only, and if they are successful in carrying the struggle through the question of coalition will have ceased to exist owing to the disappearance of capital as a possession of any one class.

A workers' Government is based on the logical development of the local Soviets. Representatives of the local Soviets meet in all-Russian assembly, which elects a Central Executive Committee, which, in turn, is empowered to appoint members of the Council of People's Commissaries. The main difference between this and the ordinary Parliamentary system is that the members of Parliament are elected to the Parliament only, whereas each member of the All-Russian Assembly has been first elected to the local Soviet, where he has so far proved his quality as to be elected by his

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colleagues' to represent them in the Soviet of the whole country. Each member of the All-Russian Soviet also bears responsibility as a member of the local Soviet, where he[????] only the general ordnance [????] practice, but designed for local conditions.

The Soviet system allows the centralization of authority without weakening the local autonomies. In Russia, where the peoples and climate and other conditions differ so widely, it is a natural system, and its strength has been proved again and again since the first revolution.

Fighting continues in Finland, where the Red Guards seem to have seized Helsingfors and are holding it in spite of superior numbers of the Bourgeois White Guard. It is estimated that in Finland there are 360,000 Red Guards and 80,000 White Guards. The Finnish Soviet has succeeded in repairing the railway from Viborg to Petrograd, which the White Guard had blown up at several places. Three trains arrived yesterday.

DN February 4, 1918.

**The Red Army.
Bulwark Of Soviet Government.
Final Struggle With Capitalism.**

Petrograd, Friday.

Today there are published a series of decrees and orders concerned with the raising of a volunteer army. The army is to be called the Red Army of Workers and Peasants. Each volunteer gets 50 roubles a month, all found, and those members of his family

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unable to earn a living are to be properly provided for. It will be, in fact, a development of the Red Guard. Particular care is being taken to prevent unsuitable enlistments. Each volunteer must have recommendations, showing that he actually is a convinced revolutionary, prepared to risk his life for the Soviet Government.

There are special regulations with regard to the enlistment of bodies of men. The organizers realize the danger of taking into the Red Army solid lumps of the old Army which might readily volunteer in a moment of enthusiasm under the influence of oratory, and when it came to action might be a weakening rather than a strengthening influence. The main point of the Red Army is that it is to be an army every man of which both understands and cares for the principles of the revolution. For this reason it is easy to foresee that it will be recruited mostly from the towns. Masses of the old peasant army do not care twopence about the European or even the Russian proletariat. They want land, and having got it they will want law and order to ensure them the opportunity of working it. With that their interest in the revolution ceases.

In Case of Final Rupture.

The formation of the Red Army will strengthen the Soviet Government by making it independent of the casual sympathies of the Petrograd garrison. For that reason the parties opposed to the Soviet Government are doing their utmost to put difficulties in the way regardless of the fact that such an army is necessary to hold the vanishing front line in case of a final breaking in the negotiations. Thus the Cadet "Retch" referring to the efforts of the Bolsheviks to see that their recruits are genuine enthusiasts and not mere hunters of 50 roubles a month compares the Red Army to the Corps Gendarmes of autocracy. Opponents of the Bolsheviks similarly use all means of fanning jealousy between the Garrison and the Red Guard. Finally, the starvation of Petrograd is being

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carefully attributed to the Bolsheviks in spite of the fact that they are actually doing more to obtain food for the capital than could be done by any weaker coalition that might normally take their place but would actually be helpless without the Soviet organization.

Third Assembly Of Soviets.

It is now possible to sum up the main results of the third All Russian Assembly of Soviets. Objection to the Coalition has now a reasoned basis, since the Assembly recognizes that this is the transition period in the final struggle between the workers and the capitalist, and that therefore the workers cannot, without weakening themselves, admit into their organization representatives of the capitalist classes, whose exploitation of labor they are now determined to end. At least during this transition. period Russia must be ruled by the workers only, and if they are successful in carrying the struggle through the question of coalition will have ceased to exist owing to the disappearance of capital as the possession of any one class.

The Workers Government is based on the logical development of the local Soviets. Representatives of the local Soviets meet in an All – Russian Assembly which elects a central executive committee, which in turn is empowered to appoint members of the Council of Peoples Commissaries.

The main difference between this and the ordinary Parliamentary system is that members of Parliament are elected to Parliament only, whereas each member of the All Russian Assembly has been first elected to the local Soviet, where he has so far proved his worth as to be elected by his colleagues to represent them in the

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Soviet of the whole country. Each member of the All Russian Soviet also bears responsibility as a member of the local Soviet, where he sees not only the general ordinances put into practice, but also the special ordinances designed for local conditions. The Soviet system allows of the centralization of authority without weakening local autonomies.

NYT. February 6, 1918.

Conflict Is Serious.

Petrograd, February 3.

For the first time the revolution has come into serious conflict with the Church over the sequestration of the possessions and certain buildings of the very rich Alexander Nevsky Monastery. The purposes for which the buildings are wanted are charitable but when it became known that an inventory was being made by the Soviet representatives, who entered the monastery grounds with Red Guards and sailors, large crowds of local worshippers collected and meetings of protest were held. The Spiritual Council of the monastery met and resolved to events to the Patriarch Tikhon.

This monastery covers a big area on the banks of the Neva and contains many churches, including two of the oldest in Petrograd, built one above the other, where Peter the Great deposited the remains of Saint Alexander Nevsky, who defeated the Swedes at the battle of Neale. This is a regular place of pilgrimage and every day streams of worshippers pass under the pictured gates in its white wall.

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The Soviet Government today issued a statement concerning the events in the monastery, including the stirring up by the monks of a crowd, mostly women worshippers, to beat the commissary who was sent to take an inventory, and also gave out a short notice on the subject of today's ceremony, pointing out that it was not forbidden, and that the forces preserving order had strict instructions for the immediate arrest of any persons who might attempt to interfere with it.

The Soviet Government's decree concerning liberty of conscience and religious societies definitely disestablishes the Church and destroys all the privileges accorded to professors of any particular faith. State functions are no longer to be accompanied by religious ceremonies, which are to be free so long as they do not interfere with public order. Religion is not to be used as an excuse for the nonperformance of obligations of citizenship, although local authorities may permit the substitution of one obligation for another.

The oath is abolished. There is a separation of school and Church, and the private teaching of religion is permitted. All forms of subsidization of religious societies are prohibited. No church or religious society may possess property. All possessions of churches and other religious organizations in Russia become national property; but buildings and instruments for religious service are assigned by the local or central authority for the free use of the respective religious societies. This, perhaps, explains the hostility of the Church dignitaries.

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NYT, February 6, 1918,

Moscow Bolsheviks Vote Against Peace:

Talk of a Volunteer Army of 2,000,000---Food Crisis in Petrograd Continues.

Petrograd, February 2

A majority of the Moscow Soviet is in favor of the organization of a volunteer army of 2,000,000. This is supported by the Bolshevik representative of the Praesidium, who said there were only three possibilities before them.

The first was to declare a military strike, not to sign peace, and ignore events on the front while preparing forces inside the country.

The second was to sign peace with annexations and indemnities, and consider such a peace signed in present conditions shameful and therefore not binding. The third was the organization of a volunteer army.

Opponents of the Bolsheviks said it was too late and that separate peace was unavoidable, also that Kaledine, was a more dangerous enemy than the Germans.

The majority, however, voted that the German terms were unacceptable and declared themselves in favor of a "holy war."

The food difficulties are very great. In the districts outside Petrograd many are starving and there are cases where trains bringing food to the city are held up and robbed outside. In a fight reported yesterday between peasants and the guard of a flour train ten

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persons were killed and twenty-five wounded. Twenty-five sacks of flour disappeared during the skirmish.

Yesterday the census of food stores in the town proceeded quietly, though there were several small riots ending with shooting where the bakers were unable to supply people who had been waiting for bread many hours. It is very difficult to get the peasants to give up flour even where they have plenty, because they want manufactured goods, not pieces of paper. There is thus a return to primitive bargaining. A train loaded with such manufactures as could be got together in the town was sent south to be exchanged for flour.

Prices are climbing daily. Following is the latest list: Yeast, \$8.64 a pound; a very small hare, \$9.00; chicory, \$2.64; an inferior chicken, \$6.24; potatoes, 60 cents a pound; butter almost unobtainable at \$7.76 a pound; sugar, ditto, at \$3.86..Under these conditions it is not surprising that crime and typhus spread together.

DN. February 7, 1918.

Bolsheviks Firm.

Dream Of European Revolution.

Kieff Captured.

Brest Resumes Today.

Petrograd, Tuesday

The main line of agitation used by anti— Bolsheviks is that the struggle of any kind is hopeless. They taunt the Bolsheviks

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continually with the fact that "they have failed to get peace." They also make great use of non— recognition by the Allies.

If finally the Bolsheviks are driven to yield to Germany, and to conclude a separate peace on unsatisfactory terms, a large part of the responsibility will belong to those interested parties, Russia and foreign, here and abroad, who, by misrepresenting the honesty of the Bolshevik's purpose, and actuality of their authority, have succeeded in postponing until almost too late – possibly it is already too late – if not recognition by the Allies, at least some satisfactory working arrangement.

Absolute isolation from the Allies not only weakens the Bolsheviks against those Russian parties who are willing to sacrifice their ideals in order to secure peace, and with the political power, but also, in the event of peace being concluded, ensure that Russia shall be handed over to unchecked exploitation by Germany.

Of Vital Urgency.

Recognition is a little thing, but a working arrangement is a thing of vital, urgent importance. In fact, it has been for the last two months. It's importance and desirability are not lessened in the least by the continual small rudeness which every capitalist country in Europe, including the Central Empires, must expect from men whose strength depends only on their open, indeed, their flourishing allegiance, to their own principles.

it is surely worth our while to make an effort to understand them, instead of helping the imperialism of the Central Empires by conniving at their ultimate collapse. This will weaken, not only democracy in Germany, but also throughout the world.

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Brest Wires "Damaged."

For four days there has been no news by direct wire from Brest. The Germans alleged that the wire was damaged. The Russians accordingly similarly "damaged" the direct wire used by the Austro –German delegation between Petrograd and Berlin.

NYT. February 7, 1918.

**Lenine Retaliates For 'Damaged' Wire:
Cut Off from Crest, He Damages Teuton Direct Wire from Petrograd to Berlin.**

Petrograd, February 5.

For four days there has been no news by direct wire from Brest – Litovsk . The Germans alleged the wire was damaged. The Russians accordingly similarly "damaged" the direct wire used by the Austro – German delegation between Petrograd and Berlin.

Today a long message from Radek several days old was brought by courier and appears in the Izvestia. It is a detailed discussion of the question whether the Russian revolution should capitulate to the German imperialist or not. Radek says agreement to a peace which surrendered Poland, Lithuania, and Courland to the will of German imperialism "would not only be an act of treachery to our class comrades, but would also strengthen the weakening position of German imperialism in its own country, besides rallying the popular masses of the Entente once more around their

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Governments, and so would give new life to the world war."

Such a peace, he adds, would not even give a short reprieve to Russian population, which must persist if it does not spread to other countries. "The peace policy of the Russian revolution must be directed to the awakening of the European revolution. Any other peace policy would be a policy of suicide."

The Russian revolution cannot capitulate, he goes on. On the other hand, separate peace does not necessarily weakened the revolution "if the revolution succeeds in forcing German imperialism to refrain from disguised annexation in the east. In that case separate peace with Germany would serve not to strengthen but to weaken imperialism, both within and without Germany. Giving up annexation in the east would set one section of the imperialist in opposition to the German Government and would spur the other section to strengthen its annexationist tendencies in the west.

"The popular masses in Germany and even a great part of the bourgeoisie are far more decidedly opposed to attempts at annexation in the west. Such attempts would bring the internal situation in Germany to boiling point. If the popular masses inside Germany begin to oppose the plan of seizing Belgium that very fact would destroy steadily the weakening alliance between the peoples and Governments of the Entente, which continue only owing to lack of faith among the working classes of the Entente in the proletariat of the Central Powers."

Radek goes on to urge that if the Germans do not withdraw their annexationist demands Russia must stick to her position. "We have to reckon with the possibility," he says, "not merely of an interval in the peace negotiations but of their complete cessation."

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Germany, he thinks, will not attempt to march into Russia, both because of the political uselessness of such a march and because the peoples of the Central Empires would not be willing to see it.

The Germans might seize this or that strategical point, but such small victories would in no way compensate them for the political effect at home of the cessation of the negotiations and failure to conclude peace.

Finally, both from the internal and external point of view, nothing is more than dangerous for the Russian revolution than abdication from itself. "Just as in the internal policy we have burnt all our bridges behind us," he adds, "so in foreign-policy the revolution must risk and risk again. None can bend on our side. It would weaken the attractive power of the revolution and give new strength to German imperialism. Therefore we are willing to conclude a separate peace if we can conclude no other, but only peace without annexation, without indemnities, and on the basis of self – definition of peoples. Either such a peace or no peace at all."

The main agitation used by the anti– Bolsheviki is that a struggle of any kind is hopeless. They taunt the Bolsheviks continually with the fact that "they have failed to get peace." They also make great use of non– recognition by the Allies.

If finally the Bolsheviks are driven to yield to Germany and to conclude separate peace on unsatisfactory terms a large part of the responsibility will belong to those interested parties, Russian and foreign, here and abroad, who by misrepresenting the honesty of the Bolshevik purpose and the actuality of their authority have succeeded in postponing until almost too late – possibly if it is already too late – if not recognition by this Allies, at least some

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satisfactory working arrangement.

Absolute isolation from the Allies not only weakens the Bolsheviki against those Russian parties who are willing to sacrifice their ideals in order to secure peace and with it political power, but also in the event of peace being concluded insures that Russia shall be handed over to an unchecked exploitation by Germany. Recognition is perhaps a little thin, but a working arrangement is a thing of vital, urgent importance, as it has been for the last two months. Its importance and desirability are not lessened in the least by the continual small rudeness which every capitalist country in Europe, including the Central Empires, expects from men whose strength depends only on their open, indeed flourishing, allegiance to their own principles.

Trotsky, under sentence of imprisonment in Germany, is sent to sit at a table with Kuhlmann and Hoffman at Brest – Litovsk. Radek, an Austrian Social Democrat, is sent to make things pleasant for Czernin. In order not to seem to be slaves of one capitalist group against another they must take a similar line with regards to us or sensibly weaken their position in the minds of the working classes of the Central Empires. It is surely worthwhile to make an effort to understand them instead of helping the imperialism of the Central Empires by conniving after ultimate collapse, which will weaken not only democracy in Germany but also throughout the world.

DN February 18, 1918.

Soviets Peace Terms.

Adherence to Fixed Principles.

The Outlook In Russia.

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[Telegraphic communication with Petrograd, after being interrupted for more than a week, is now reopened. The following message from Mr. Arthur Ransome, our Special Correspondent, has been greatly delayed in transmission.]

Petrograd, February 7.

It is now three months since the Soviets took all power into their own hands. Ever since the first Revolution actual power has been in the hands of the Soviets, and every political change has followed and not preceded a change in the political color of the Soviets. Thus the attempted Bolshevik rising in July failed because the majority in the Soviets opposed it. Korniloff's mutiny failed for the same reason. Tseretelli's attempt to form a new body for the support of the Provisional Government failed because the Soviets had moved to the Left, and their movement to the Left accurately reflected the opinion of the country.

The Bolshevik seizure of power succeeded because it had the Soviets solidly behind it. That is to say, that on every occasion where a test was possible, whatever party was dominant in them at the time, the Soviets have represented the will of Russia. The Mensheviks have been shaken and swept away. The Right of the Social Revolutionaries have followed them, and the Bolsheviks have now come into power. The Left of the Social Revolutionaries are rapidly coming to share that power.

Soviets Unshaken.

Political changes there have been, but the institution of the Soviets has remained absolutely unshaken. When the time comes for the Bolsheviks to follow their predecessors and resigned power into the hands of another party it will have come because of a real

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change of opinion in the country, which will be reflected in the Soviets. The Soviets will survive that change also.

In recognizing the Republic of Soviets as the Government of Russia we should not be recognizing any one party. We should be recognizing a form of Government which Russia has hammered out for herself by rule of thumb. This form of Government is especially suitable to a country of such gigantic area and full of markedly differing races. It is, moreover, a form of Government which is not a new thing in Russia, but corresponds to the older forms of Russian freedom.

Brest Negotiations.

A telegraphic of the negotiations of the Political Committee has arrived from Brest. It contained little of importance, consisting mostly of a sparring match concerning the representation at Brest of the Polish Government formed under German auspices. Trotsky pointed out that though he fully recognized the independence of Poland, that did not mean that he recognized the right of the present Polish Government – formed while German troops were in occupation – to speak for the country, which so far had had no chance of speaking for itself. The discussions seem to be a form of marking time, both sides being ready, with quite opposite hopes, to wait and watch developments in Germany.

I had a talk with the courier who arrived from Brest the previous night. The impression I got from him and from conversations with other persons likely to be extremely well – informed was that the rumors given currency to by the Opposition here about peace being already signed are entirely false, and that a separate peace will only be signed if the Germans admit the Russian principles.

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These rumors are put about with a view to increasing the difficulties of the Soviet Government in creating a volunteer Army. They have the same character as other rumors spread by the opposition to the effect that the Russian delegation has been arrested. The aim of the Opposition is to increase the nervous tension of the populace. Meanwhile, the Army is becoming more and more impatient at the length of the negotiations and Krylenko tries to appease them by telling those who want to go home to go, and inviting those who are able to fight with conviction to join the new Army.

A decree published today enacts that on February 14 the Russian and English calendars shall be the same. This has been the desire of the Bolsheviks from the first days of the Revolution, when they dated their party newspapers in English style.

DN February 19, 1918-#1.

Danger To Germany.

Advances Increases Revolutionary Material Behind the Lines.

Petrograd, February 11. (Delayed in transmission.)

Yesterday's declaration on the part of the Russian delegation that the federated Russian Republic refuses to sign peace on German annexationist conditions does not lessen the difficulties of Germany on the Eastern front. The signing of an annexationist agreement would give the lie direct to Bolshevik and would destroy all hope of a Bolshevik movement in Europe, which hope is far dearer to the Bolsheviks than the fate of Russia or any other single country.

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And less Germany hermetically seals the whole Russian front infection from the Russian Revolution will continue. Trotsky probably reasons that Germany, if she directs troops eastward, will merely be exposing them to the same infection which has lessened the fighting values of all German troops who were recently on the Eastern front. That front is so vast that a uniform advance is impossible without a great number of troops. The German advance, if any, must be of the same character as Napoleons. Any advance merely increases the amount of revolutionary material behind the German lines.

DN. February 19, 1918 #2

How The Break Came At Brest.

German Failure to Understand Trotsky's Objects.

[Following the interruption of communication with Petrograd large arrears of cablegram's, some over a week old, are now arriving from our Special Correspondent, Mr. Ransome. They throw interesting sidelights on events leading to the rupture at Brest and subsequently.]

Baltic Plot.

Barons Send Appeal to the Berlin Spy Center.

Petrograd, Sunday.

A telegram from the Reval Executive Committee of Soviets announces that Reval and all other towns in Estonia have been declared in a state of siege, owing to the discovery of a plot on the part of the Baltic Barons against the Soviet, including a signed

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appeal to the Berlin local organization center of German espionage.

The British Embassy has issued a statement that to the best of its knowledge there are no English officers in Kieff, and that in any case British citizens are under orders to take no part, on one side or the other, in the struggle between the Soviets and the Ukrainian Rada.

Horrified Germans.

Friday.

Last night at the Foreign Office M. Radek, who has just returned from Brest, gave me interesting sidelights on the course of the peace negotiations. The Germans believed throughout that the Russian delegates merely wanted a good excuse to sign a separate peace, and Count Czernin approached M. Trotsky with the question, "Would it help you if we were to send you an ultimatum?"

M. Radek was much amused by the horror with which the German dignitaries regarded the delegation of badly – dressed journalist who, for lack of portmanteau, left Brest with huge newspaper parcels containing documents amassed during the negotiations. The Germans much disliked the Russian habit, on entering the room of shaking hands with the soldiers with the same politeness with which they greeted the German representatives.

Madame Radek said their relations with the soldiers were extremely friendly. They took every opportunity of talking to the soldiers, who invariably declared they were not going to shoot against the Russians. Feeling in the German Army may be judged by the fact that even at Brest, when the Russians, after dinner, sat at the open windows and sang the "Marseillaise," this song was

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taken up by the soldiers and was whistled all over the town. The officers had to pretend they did not hear.

Not On Dining Terms.

The first delegation dined with the Austro – Germans, but when M. Trotsky arrived with a second delegation he said he would prefer to dine alone. While the Germans intended to agree with Russian terms and talk the language of the Russian Revolution, the Russians reciprocated with politeness, but after the Germans removed the mask, and showed themselves openly in pursuit of Imperialist aims, the differences between the two parties could not be so far hidden as to allow them to sit at meat together. German soldiers waited at table.

M. Radek described their amusement when one of the delegation toasted General Hoffmann as the inspirer of the Viennese strikes, which, they said, were the result of his speeches. He believes that the Germans are really afraid of a revolutionary movement in Germany. To this he attributes their anxiety to get peace with Russia. The Germans were profoundly convinced that the Russian peace delegates had a secret agreement with the Allies. This conviction was strengthened by a small incident in the discussion on trade relations.

A German delegate spoke of the right of Germany to make special arrangements with her ally Austria with regard to trade in particular commodities. The Russians replied: "Certainly, and there would be nothing in that case to prevent our making a special arrangement with America, for example, about the supply of corn to other countries, supposing we wished to establish a world monopoly of corn."

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"General Peace Impossible."

"That was a splendid idea," said Radek laughing, "and it came into my head just at the right moment."

I asked M. Radek what was his impression with regard to the German hopes of a general peace. He replied: "They believe that a general peace is quite impossible."

The Turkish delegates played only a small part. Talat Pasha was hampered by his ignorance of French. When people said "guerre" he thought they spoke of "terre" and so on. The Turks declared they were guided by one principle only, "to preserve the treasurers of the Ottoman Empire."

"Don't you think you will have to wait a very long time before English imperialist give up Baghdad and Jerusalem" said Radek to them, and they made no reply. With regard to Armenia the Russians expressed the intention of evacuating it in favor of the Armenians.

The Armenian Problem.

Hakki Pasha said: "You must give it up exactly as you took at." The Russians replied: "Not at all. We shall withdraw our troops, but leave arms and necessary arms behind us, so that the Armenians will be able to defend their country against us or any other foreigners."

With regard to the visit of the Russian delegates to Warsaw, the Germans at first refused permissions saying everything necessary was at Brest. The Russians said in that case, with a view to reciprocity, they would move the Austro-German Petrograd

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delegation to the fortress of Kronstadt, where, as at Brest, were convenient halls for discussion. The Germans agreed.

Hoping to avoid a demonstration, they arranged a room for Trotsky in a tidy street, but news of his presence got about, and the Germans were powerless to prevent the street being blocked by a huge crowd.

With regard to the relations between the enemy delegations, M. Radek said the Austrians were pretty powerless and very conscious of the fact that they were under the military domination of Germany. Count Czernin had said, "We surely shall not fight over Oesel and Dago," and he had been surprised when M. Radek pointed out to him that their position made there possessor dominant in the Eastern Baltic.

Yet the very next day he sat silent when the annexation of those islands was definitely demanded by the Germans.

As for the Turks, they were still weaker. Germany takes little account of Austria and Austria little account of Turkey. Czernin gave it to be understood that if in making a bargain Russia wanted to keep some of Turkey such a range was possible. M. Radek thinks that if they had been willing to bargain territorially at all they could have done pretty well.

Trotsky's Daring.

Few moments in the history of this war have been more dramatic than when M. Trotsky, pressed by the Germans for a definite conclusion of a separate peace on German terms stood up at Brest, alone, unrecognized, with no material force behind him of any kind whatsoever, in face of the massed strength of the Central Empires, in a military setting where that strength would seem

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most strong, and, appealing from the Courts of Force to the judgment of humanity itself, repudiated the German terms, and made yet another bid for the support of the German people.

Remember the setting of the negotiations. The only building in Brest undamaged by the war is the blue – domed Russian church. The railway station, streets of houses, the old fortifications were all smashed to pieces by the Germans, so that they could have a moral effect on the Russians. The German orderlies who looked after the delegates had been chosen for their chubby cheeks, well – fed appearance and contented in mood. Picked troops were everywhere in evidence.

Yet in the face of the efficiency of this great machine Trotsky stood up armed only with his idea and knowing that the effect of that idea would be probably weakened by the collaboration of the Ukraine with Austria. He stood up to face the Germans, who confident that at last they had forced him to a position where he must make peace or give them the opportunity of using force without being opposed by German labor, and in a few words he repeated in a new form his original attack.

And Undefended Country.

He announced that Germany was not and had not been waging a defensive war and dared the German imperialist to prove him right by attacking an undefended country. That was, of course, the meaning of demobilization, which was announced simultaneously with the rejection of the German conditions. In actual fact, the old Russian army is already practically immobilized, but this announcement together with Krylenko's order, made the demobilization and the absence of the Russian Army itself a weapon in the struggle between an idea and physical force.

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It does not mean that a Red Army for the defense of the ideas of the Revolution will not be formed. Agitation for that is continuing with rigor.

Petrograd, February 11.

It is beginning to be obvious that so long as the Soviet Government continues so long is Russia dangerous to Germany, and so long is peace with Germany impossible. It remains to be seen how the Germans will reply to the Russian move. The seizure of Reval, for example, would not disturb the Bolsheviki and would bring peace no nearer. Much will depend on whether they can come to terms with Russia as to the import from Russia of the copper, platinum and other materials which they need. Their delegation here has been busy attempting to establish a hold on Russian supplies of raw material. If we choose to do the same the Russians would more willingly sell to us. Dealings between Russia and Germany of this kind will, of course, be possible only if Germany replies to the Russian move by a similar declaration of the end of hostilities.

**Typhus Spreading.
February 13.**

Typhus is spreading rapidly in Petrograd. The sanitary organization have no means of taking the sick to the hospitals or their clothes to the disinfecting stations. They have to use ordinary cabs with the natural result that infection is spreading. sixty percent of the cases are fatal. The epidemic is due to starvation and to the return of soldiers from the front with their clothes in a most unsanitary condition. There are nearly 600 cases in one hospital.

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NYT February 19, 1918,

Teutons Expected Trotzky To Yield:

Believed He Sought Excuse to Sign Treaty---Czernin Offered a Sham Ultimatum.

No Hope Of General Peace:

Radek Says Teutons Think It Impossible---Found Soldiers In Revolutionary Mood.

Petrograd, February 15.

Carl Radek, editor of the Pravda, who has just returned from Brest-Litovsk, gave me interesting sidelights at the Foreign Office last night on the peace negotiations. The Germans believed throughout that the Russian delegates merely wanted a good excuse to sign a separate peace, and Czernin approached Trotzky with the question, "Would it help you if we were to give you an ultimatum?"

M. Radek was much amused by the horror with which the German dignitaries regarded the delegation of badly dressed journalists, who, for lack of portmanteaux, left Brest-Litovsk with huge newspaper parcels containing documents amassed during the negotiations. The Germans disliked the Russian habit of entering the conference room and shaking hands with the soldiers with the same politeness with which they greeted the representatives of the German militarist party. Radek said their relations with the soldiers were extremely friendly. The soldiers invariably declared they were not going to shoot against the Russians.

The feeling in the German army may be judged by the fact that even at Brest, when the Russians, after dinner and with the

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windows open sang the Marseillaise, the song was taken up and whistled by soldiers throughout the town, the officers having to pretend not to notice it.

The first delegation dined with the Austro-Germans, but when Trotzky arrived with the second delegation he said he would prefer to dine alone.

While the Germans were pretending to agree to the Russian terms and were talking the language of the Russian revolution, the Russians reciprocated that politeness, but when the Germans removed their masks and showed themselves openly in pursuit of imperialistic aims, the difference between the two parties could not be so far hidden as to allow them to sit at meaeet together.

The German soldiers waited on table at the meals. Radek described their amusement when, one of the delegation toasted Hoffmann as the inspirer of the Viennese strikes which were the result of Hoffmann's speech.

Radek believes the Germans really are afraid of the labor movement in Germany; hence their anxiety to get peace with Russia.

They believed the Russian peace delegates had a secret agreement with the Allies. This conviction was strengthened by a small incident in the discussion of trade relations. A German delegate spoke of the right of Germany to make special arrangements with her ally. Austria, with regard to trade in particular commodities. The Russians replied: "Certainly, and there would be nothing in that case to prevent us making special arrangements with America, for example, about the supply of corn to other countries, supposing we wished to establish a world monopoly of corn."

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"That was a splendid idea," said Radek, laughing, "and it came to my head just at the right moment."

I asked Radek what was his impression with regard to German hopes of a: general peace. He replied, "They believe that a general peace is quite impossible."

The Turkish delegates played only a small part. Tallaat Bey is a clever man, Bakki Pasha was hampered by ignorance of French. When the delegates said "Guerre," he thought they spoke of "Terre," and so on.

The Turks declared they were guided by one principle only, "to preserve inviolate the frontier of the Ottoman Empire."

With regard to Armenia the Russians expressed an intention of evacuating it in favor of the Armenians. Bakki Pasha said: "You must give it up exactly as you took it." The Russians replied, "Not at all. We shall withdraw our troops, but leave arms and necessary munitions behind us, so that the Armenians will be able to defend their self-definition against us or any other foreigners."

With regard to the visit of the Russian.delegates to Warsaw the Germans at first refused permission, saying that everything necessary was at Brest, The Russians said in that case, with a view, to reciprocity, they would move the Austro-German Petrograd delegation to the fortress of Kronstadt. The Germans then agreed. Hoping to avoid a demonstration. they arranged a room for Trotzky in a side street, but the news of his presence got about and the Germans were powerless to prevent the street being blocked by a huge crowd.

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NYT, February 20.1918, .

Freak Incidents Of Bolshevist Rule:

Marriage Bureau Preparing Extensive Campaign of Advertising for Love-Lorn Couples.

Press Is Tightly Gagged:

Criminals Invited to be Good or Be Shot--More Secret Diplomatic Agreements Published.

Petrograd, February 16, (Delayed.)

The last few days have seen some interesting examples of the legislative ingenuity of the Bolsheviks. We have had a law relating to newspapers. Nowadays a newspaper can only come out on condition that it prints all orders and enactments issued by the Petrograd Soviet on its first page. There are other restrictions, but this is the most serious, as after a busy day the Soviet paper may find itself compelled to surrender the whole front page to advertising its enemies' doings--the only form of advertisement, by the way, now permitted to appear in the columns of the non-Soviet press.

Then there are restaurant regulations coming into force in a few days' time. All restaurants which have the necessary accommodation will have to provide a certain number of cheap meals fixed at a low price in accordance with the new card system. Then there is " Spitzberg's Marriage and Divorce Bureau." Apparently, this Government institution only found twenty-one couples willing to submit to its ministrations during the six weeks of its existence. Spitzberg, the , barrister who runs the bureau, is preparing an .extensive advertising campaign, and when in the

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Spring the Bolsheviki's fancies lightly turn to thoughts of love, posters will tell them what to do about it.

Metropolitan of Kiev Murdered.

These days have also seen a heavy assault on the Russian Church. Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev, has been murdered by Hooligans, who entered his rooms at the Lavra, robbed him, stripped him, and finally drove out the old man of 70 and killed him. Tikhon, Metropolitan of Moscow, who also is Patriarch of the Russian Church, has been prevented from coming to Petrograd, while the sacristy of the Moscow Kremlin has been looted. The gold and silver removed alone is worth many millions of rubles, to say nothing of such things as very early text Slavonic manuscript gospels and articles of inestimable historical value.

The amount of robbery and murder now proceeding has led the Petrograd Soviet to appoint a special commission to devise means of suppressing the disorder. The Chairman of this body is Bonch-Bruevitch, who is a sort of Secretary to the Bolshevik Government. He was known before the revolution as the editor of an enormous work of innumerable volumes on Russian sectarianism. Yesterday Bonch-Bruevitch published a plan for restoring order. All criminal elements will be invited: either to adopt an honest method of earning a living or leave: the town within twenty-four hours. At the expiration of this time limit all criminals caught red-handed will be shot forthwith.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that the line between ordinary criminality and anarchism, inspired by the loftiest motives, has now completely vanished. The front page of Sunday's Burevestnik, an anarchist daily, consists of an appeal addressed to hall porters. "You have been watchdogs long enough, guarding the wealth of others," it says. "The poor do riot need protection. It is a crime to

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protect the rich. Open the gates; let the real masters, the poor, enter and take what is theirs. Owners of palaces and private houses, if you do not desire equality, go live in the cellars, under the stairs, in damp corners. We, where there is light and sun, create anarchy."

Anti-Anarchist Treaty by Powers.

There has been published part of the text of an agreement, signed in 1904 by Germany, Austria, Denmark, Rumania, Russia, Serbia, Sweden and Norway. Turkey and Bulgaria, for joint work in the suppression of the anarchist movement. The treaty provides for repatriation of anarchist subjects of the contracting powers and the creation of a clearing house of police information. It may be recalled that, among the secret documents already published is one of an effort made by King Alfonso to induce King Edward VII. to come to an agreement for joint action between Britain and Spain against the anarchists. So, the omission of Spain from the list of contracting powers is curious. The treaty is accompanied by a memorandum by Count Lamsdorf, Foreign Minister, from which it is obvious that he regarded as anarchists all persons engaged in the Russian revolutionary movement, especially Jews. He comments bitterly upon defense of their Russian coreligionists and says: "The Vatican could do us an inestimable service by putting the Russian Government in possession of the actual facts of the destructive Jewish masonic organization, the threads of which are pulled from Paris." Lamsdorf's note indicates an attempt to form an international organization, supported by all the monarchist Governments of Europe to fight anti-Christian and anti-monarchist tendencies.

Further documents are promised.

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NYT. February 22, 1918.

**Party Turns On Trotsky and He May Resign;
Switched From War to Peace With Deciding Vote**

Petrograd, Feb. 20.

The Council of Commissaries voted before sending the capitulatory telegram to Berlin, and decided in favor of peace by a majority of one. Trotsky, who had been in favor of fighting to the last, went unexpectedly to the other side, and thus decided the result.

Last night's closed meeting of the party turned into a meeting of indignation against the Foreign Minister. Trotsky probably will resign. Lettish riflemen at the Smolny Institute are holding a meeting of protest against peace. There will be a further closed meeting of the Government parties tonight.

Both parties, Bolsheviki and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, are divided on the main question.

DN. February 22, 1918.

Towards Petrograd.

Germans Still Advancing in Estonia and All Along the Line.

1353 Guns and 9000 Prisoners.

Peace by One Vote: Trotsky's Eleventh Hour Decision.

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[The Germans, who have invaded Estonia across the frozen Sound from the Island of Moon, are pushing forward, and it is believed are aiming at the occupation of Reval, and possibly of Petrograd.

Southward the advance also continues, and Berlin claims much booty, including over 1300 guns, nearly 5000 motor – car's, 1000 railway carriages laden with goods, and about 9000 prisoners. Minsk has been occupied.

It is stated from Petrograd that the decision to make peace was reached by a majority of one vote, and Mr. Arthur Ransome, our Special Correspondent, states that this was due to the unexpected change of attitude of M. Trotsky himself. Conditions in Russia appeared to be getting worse, particularly with regard to food; and the complete collapse of Russian resistance is now shown to be due to impending famine.]

Trotsky's Future.

Probable Resignation from Consul.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The Council of the Peoples Commissaries voted before sending the capitulatory telegram to Berlin, and decided in favor of peace by a majority of one. M. Trotsky, who had been in favor of fighting to the last, went unexpectedly to the other side, and thus decided the result. Last night's closed meeting of the party turned into a meeting of indignation against him. M. Trotsky will probably resign.

Lettish rifleman at the Smolny Institute are holding a meeting of protest against peace. A further closed meeting of the Government parties will take place tonight. Both parties – the Bolsheviks and the Left Social Revolutionaries – are divided on the main question.

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Besides these are the other political groups, who will probably make another attempt to call the Constituent Assembly, with a view to making a further appeal to the Allies.

Meanwhile, the Germans, moving on the whole front, have taken a long series of important points.

Starving Soldiers.

The change in the Bolshevik policy was a surprise not only to their enemies, but to their friends. Their enemies had long been working on the desire for peace in the masses, pointing out the utter impossibility of Russian resistance to the Germans, and asking how soldiers of the Red Guards, or anybody, could be expected to fight on a quarter or and eighth of a pound of bread, and even that sometimes unattainable. They insist that even peace could not save Petrograd from starvation, and that the continuance of the war doomed the whole population to death by hunger and swiftly spreading disease.

They emphasized the hopelessness of Trotsky's task of obtaining food for the capital, pointing to the statement of the railway man that they themselves were prepared to prevent food reaching the capital unless their own wants were supplied. All this had the political aim of turning the Bolsheviks out.

Publication of the telegram of capitulation has caused a complete reversal of this policy, and if the People's Commissaries do obtain peace their enemies will campaign against them for having done so. On the other hand, supporters of the Bolsheviks are thrown into equal confusion.

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At the very time when the telegram of capitulation was being sent, I was with M. Radek in the Foreign Office. He was perfectly prepared to go down fighting, and was talking of the methods of defense of Petrograd; there was to be compulsion of the Bourgeoisie to dig trenches, and in the last resort to force the Germans to continue fighting the Revolution, if necessary up to the Ural Mountains. He was arranging for the arrest of all German officer war prisoners.

The Idealists.

While I was there three Social Democrats, prisoners of war, an Austrian, a German, and a Hungarian, came with a mass of signed statements by others declaring their readiness to fight for the Revolution. It was proposed to form a "Liebknecht" regiment and "Adler" regiment. Everyone realized the danger before them, and was prepared to face it.

"No matter what happens, the page of history will have been written, and it is better to be destroyed by imperialism than to fall apart through ignominious politics." M. Radek and all with him knew that only peace on Russian terms could save the Revolution, and he, at least, for the sake of the Revolution, was prepared not to be saved. He was not alone. The position is extremely uncertain. On the one hand those of the Government, who, on learning that no resistance was being offered to the Germans on the front, and aware of the general joy at the prospect of the Germans coming, which yesterday was manifest among the Bourgeoisie and non— political population, consider the capitulation inevitable. On the other hand are the political and determined idealists, who are prepared to die fighting in the hope of a German revolution.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

NYT, 23 February 1918,

**Joy In Petrograd As Foe Approaches:
Middle Class and Non-Political Population Hope for Deliverance
from Bolsheviki.**

**Confusion In Red Camp:
Some Approve Capitulation to Germans, While. Others Talk of
Fighting to the Death.**

Petrograd, February 20, (Delayed.)

**The saddened change in the Bolshevik policy which exulted in
accepting Germany's terms was a surprise not only to their
enemies but to their friends.**

**Their enemies have long been working on the desire for peace in
the masses, pointing out the utter impossibility of Russia's
resistance to the Germans, in asking how the soldiers of the Red
Guards or anybody could be expected to fight on a quarter or an
eighth of a pound of bread, and even that sometimes unobtainable.
They insist that even peace could not save Petrograd from
starvation, and that continuance of the war doomed the whole
population to death by hunger and swiftly spreading disease. They
emphasized the hopelessness of Trotsky's task of obtaining food
for the capital, pointing to the statement of the railwaymen that
they themselves were prepared to prevent food reaching the
capital unless their own wants were supplied.**

**All this had the political aim of turning; the Bolsheviki out. The
publication of the telegram of capitulation had caused a complete
reversal of this policy, and if the people's commissaries do obtain
peace their enemies will campaign against them for having done**

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

so. On the other hand the supporters of the Bolsheviks are thrown into equal confusion.

At the very time when the telegram of capitulation was being sent I was with Carl Radek, editor of the Bolshevik official paper and one of the envoys to Brest-Litovsk, in the Foreign Office. He was perfectly prepared to go down fighting, and was talking of methods of: defense of Petrograd. There was to be compulsion of the bourgeoisie to dig trenches, and it was planned to force the Germans to continue fighting the revolution, if necessary, up to the Ural Mountains. He was arranging for the arrest of all German officer war prisoners.

While I was there three Social Democrat prisoners of war, an Austrian, a German and a Hungarian, came with a mass of signed statements by others declaring their readiness to fight for the revolution. It was proposed to form a "Liebknecht" regiment and an "Adler" regiment. Every one realized the danger and was prepared to face it. "No matter what happens, a page of history will have been written, and it is better to be destroyed by imperialism than to fall apart through ignominious politics," said Radek. All with him knew that only peace on the Russian terms could save the revolution, and he at least for the sake of the revolution' was prepared not to be saved, and he was not alone.

The position is extremely uncertain. On the one hand are those of the Government who, learning that no resistance was being offered to the Germans on the front and aware of the general joy at the prospect of the Germans coming, which, yesterday was manifest among the bourgeoisie and non-political population, consider capitulation inevitable. On the other hand are political and determined idealists who are prepared to die fighting in the hope of a German revolution.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

NYT, February 27, 1918, .

Bolshevist Plans Upset By Germans:

New Invasion Was a Complete Surprise to Trotzky, Who Thought It Couldn't Happen.

German Mutiny:

Petrograd Hears 42 Officers of One Regiment Were Shot When Advance Began.

Petrograd, February 24, (Delayed.)

The inner history of the past few days is a history of the struggle between two tendencies in the Government and their supporters. The surprise of the German attack upset Russian calculations. Lenine's view had always been that a peace should have been signed at Brest-Litovsk. He believed their best plan was to preserve as far as possible the revolution in Russia itself to keep it alive until continuation of the war in western Europe should bring other nations to join Russia in revolt.

Trotzky, on the other hand, worked in the belief that the western revolution was much nearer. Hence his consistent policy at Brest-Litovsk based on the belief that Germany would be unable to take the risk of further military operations..

Seven days notice before closing the armistice would have allowed a change from Trotzky's policy to Lenine's. The seven days were not given, and the Government was suddenly faced with a German advance at the moment when it had practically no forces with which to meet it. With the view of having what was left of the revolution, Trotzky, after hesitation, went over to Lenine's side in

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

the discussion, and. a telegram was sent. The urgency was such that there was no time to call a meeting of the Central Executive.

Storm of Indignation.

As soon as the news of the telegram of capitulation was published there was a treble storm of indignation. The opposition parties, of course, seized upon it for political ends, and illogically attacked the Government for trying to conclude peace and at the same time for having, failed to conclude peace. , The war party in the Soviets attacked the Government for weakening, holding that once they had refused to sign the German. terms they were weakening the moral strength of the revolution by afterward agreeing. Radek, the editor of the official Bolshevist paper, who attended the peace conference, and all with .him, were gladly preparing to fight till death, confident that in so doing they were best serving the international revolution, when, without their knowledge, the ground was cut from under their feet.

The next stage was one of factional meetings in which the peace arguments gradually gained ascendancy. It is noticeable that then soldiers, almost without exception anti-war workers, favored fighting.

Meanwhile no answer has arrived from the Germans, and news comes from place after place along the front pointing to an easy German advance.

That there was some actual base for the belief of .Trotzky and others that the Germans would not dare advance is shown by the news that one German regiments shot forty two officers when ordered to advance. It is reported from Arensburg that an eyewitness saw there seventy Germans with bound hands under strong convoy who had refused to advance across the ice to

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Verder. It is further reported from the front that the enemy is advancing in groups of 100 or 200 men of various regiments, suggesting that the Germans, are compelled to use volunteers, being unable to depend on regular units. However, it is reported from Dvinsk and other places that, the Russians offered only the slightest resistance and retired without destroying materials and supplies.

As time went on and there was still no answer from the Germans, the war party succeeded in persuading Lenine that if Germans continued to advance a fight to a finish was the only policy which would not harm the cause of the revolution. I met Radek yesterday in the Smolny. Institute. He was in a state of real joy after being broken-hearted at the capitulatory telegram. He said: "The situation has much improved." I asked how. He said: "We are going to fight, and if we go down fighting the cause of the revolution is saved."

Central Committee Decides to Yield.

But at 5 o'clock this evening a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of all the Russian Soviets, decided in favor of concluding peace with the Central Empires on terms more humiliating than those which Austria offered in the ultimatum rejected by Serbia three and a half years ago. That decision possibly was due to the strictness of the Bolshevik party discipline, since with the exception of one man who will probably be ejected from the party today, the Bolsheviks voted solid, although a considerable number believe that the signing of that peace is the suicide of the Russian revolution and murder of the revolution elsewhere.

In the party meeting Lenine persuaded the majority to his view with the result that the whole party supported him, and it was

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

decided by the Central Executive to conclude peace by 116 against. 85, those not voting numbering 26.

Only thirty-six hours ago. The war party in the. Bolsheviki were considering how to force a German reply by sending an ultimatum to cease the advance.

Lenine's Attack on Trotsky.

Then came the news of the Germans sending terms. Already Lenine, in an article in the Pravda,, had opened an attack on Trotsky.saying that all knew who in Russia was sick with the "malady of revolutionary phrases." The immediate purpose of that article was to destroy Trotsky's thesis that the Allies had already come to an agreement with Germany. Its ultimate purpose became clear yesterday afternoon when, after the arrival of the German terms, which for severity are almost unparalleled in history. Lenine in a further article disclosed his main line of argument for their acceptance.

This is that the international war is a source of revolution, and that since the international war will continue, it will continue to feed the revolution and that Russians must preserve at all costs as much as they can of the revolution until the time when the "bourgeois power bleeds to death " and the Russian people are joined by revolting nations in the west. Lenine referred to the view he had always held that peace should have been concluded at Brest-Litovsk. He had said "if we refuse, then tremendous defeats will force Russia to conclude a still more disadvantageous peace."

Lenine now pointed to an absolute refusal of the army to fight, and came out roundly with the ultimatum "only unrestrained rhetoric (referring to Trotsky) could force Russia to war in such conditions as the present moment. I and of course I personally should not

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

remain one second either in the Government or in the Central Committee of our party if the policy of rhetoric should conquer."

To realize the full effect of the surprise and shock of this declaration you should know that it appeared in the Pravda the editor of which had not had time to change his heavy type headlines, which, like the whole remaining contents of the paper, were in favor of fighting.

Even today the Isvestia contains a war article by Trotsky, and the Pravda prints an appeal in English for the formation of a foreign legion of revolutionaries to resist the German advance against Petrograd.

Of the German terms the Pravda yesterday printed only a short summary of four points and a notice that the Executive Committee would meet at 5 o'clock. I went at once to the Taurid Palace where the parties were sitting separately and afterward discussing together.

Fierce little groups were in argument. At first many believed that Radek's war party would win in the Bolsheviki. but these gradually became less hopeful. The Left Social Revolutionaries, who are less under the immediate influence of Lenine. reported that in their party the majority was against signing a peace. There was a complete change of position in other parties. Thus, just as the Bolsheviki, who hitherto had been against signing, were becoming more nearly in favor of it, so old pacifist leaders like Matov of the internationalists, Sukhanov, of the Jizn group.were virulently against signing. A group of anti-peace Bolsheviki. including Radek. Volodarsky, Bronsky, and others were less hopeful as the night wore on. The general feeling was of profound depression.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

At the interparty meeting Lenine after stating his own views, came out and sat with his back against the wall, one leg crossed over the other, his arms folded. so confident in the rightness and force of his opinion that he did not take the trouble even to listen to the arguments of his opponents. His was the .only cheerful figure in the hall, and to look at him confidence was to know that the anti-peace party had no hope.

The Petrograd Soviet resolved that. taking into consideration the unheard of difficulty of the situation in which it is placed by the fact of the German advance, it approves the action or the Government. At the same time, faced with the plain intention of German Imperialism to refuse peace on any conditions. It summons the working class and garrison of Petrograd to the defense of Socialist Russia and the revolutionary capital. A similar resolution in the form of a vote of confidence was passed by the Executive Committee.

The extraordinary staff of the Military District of Petrograd with Bonch-Bruevitch at its head, has issued its first orders. General mobilization of the working classes is ordered for defense of the revolution. The bourgeoisie, in view of their obvious satisfaction at the coming of the Germans, are not called upon to fight. but are forced to dig trenches. But it is impossible to be blind to the fact that resistance will be vain. Its very organizers recognize that, and in preparing it are thinking of the defense of the idea of the revolution and the honor of the revolution throughout the world, and are not sustained by any false hope of physical victory.

The Pravda, in a leading article, puts the position clearly. Either the German Imperialists will refuse the offer of the Government, in which case there must be a fight to the death. German imperialism may not trust its strength and will give a reprieve to the revolution for the sake of avoiding a conflict with its own working classes.

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Thus if the Germans agree to peace on the Brest-Litovsk terms they will get it. If they are determined to advance, then the revolution will die fighting.

The actual meeting of the Central Executive opened at five minutes past 3 this morning. Sverdlov read the full German terms quickly and perfunctorily. They had already been read many times during party meetings, but I am convinced that not half the members present realized their full significance. Trotsky was not present. He had sacrificed his position when, over persuaded by Lenine, he put his name to the telegram offering peace, which was a negation of his whole policy. His authority was so weakened by that step that even if he had been present he would have been merely a prisoner behind Lenin's chariot wheels and would have had to vote against himself. .

There was silence in the hall, such, a silence as in court when the Judge is about to pass the death sentence. Lenine came confidently to the tribune. and in a fifteen minute speech gave a relentless. unrhetorical statement of his position. He insisted that Russia could best serve the world revolution by preserving as much as possible and strengthening the Soviet Government and keeping in existence until the opposing groups of the fighting powers should reach exhaustion and resulting revolution. lie laid stress on the impossibility of resistance, and on the fact that the other countries were not yet ready to revolt, (this is the main basis of his disagreements with Trotsky,) and therefore that it was useless to enter on hopeless resistance in the hope that such action would immediately bring the democracies to the rescue. He was applauded by little more than half the assembly.

Martov made a good speech in opposition, but, like all opposition orators, dwelt more on the mere disadvantages of separate peace

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

than on the terrible character of the actual terms. Throughout I had the impression that the Assembly, in the stress of party struggle, did not realize what it was to which they were committing themselves.

When it came to voting, hands were counted with the view to a speedy ascertaining of that result. The count gave 112 for peace and 84 against it with 22 not voting. Bonch-Bruevitch left the assembly to telegraph Russia's acceptance. Then the names of the members were read aloud. Mach answered "for "or "against". One Bolshevik, Riezanov, disobeyed party discipline and voted against signing for which he was cheered by the opposition.

It was terrible to hear man after man who up to the moment of the Assembly had been working to prevent signature now in dead voices recording their votes, for their party against their conscience. After the voting, the declarations of the parties were read from the tribune. Then about six in the morning the committee adjourned.

No sledges were yet on the streets. I walked across Petrograd in the cold winter dawn with a small group of Bolsheviks, almost all of them believing they had just connived at the revolution's death sentence. All were dead tired and walked like convicts. I could hardly force myself to realize that not quite a year ago on just such a winter's dawn I had walked those same streets in the joy and confidence of the awakening revolt.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

DN. February 27, 1918 -

Fighting For Pskof.

Town with £ 40,000,000 of Stores.

Changes Hands Several Times.

Lenin's Triumph.

Attacks Trotsky and Wins Over Soviet to Accept Enemy's Terms.

[The first detailed statement of the sequence of events at Petrograd since Thursday last is telegraphed by Mr. Arthur Ransome. It shows that on the question of accepting the onerous terms of peace offered by Germany Lenin and Trotsky disagreed. The former, who advocated complete capitulation, attacked Trotsky, and finally, at an early morning meeting on Sunday, won over other members of the Central Executive of the Soviets.

Despite Russia's acceptance of Berlin's terms, the German advance continues, and this has aroused the people of Petrograd and the Government to the utmost indignation. The capture of Pskof was followed by the issue of an appeal to the inhabitants of the capital to turn out to dig trenches and to prepare to repel the invader, but it is doubtful whether any effective resistance can be offered. There has been desperate fighting at Pskof, which has changed hands several times.]

A Night Alarm.

Petrograd Aroused by The News of Pskof.

Petrograd, Monday.

Late last night news was received that the Germans were in Pskof. The alarm was sounded by means of factory whistles, the Red Guard was called out, and reinforcements sent. At three o'clock

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in the morning came the news that Pskof was again in the hands of the Soviet forces.

The Great Decision.

Fateful All – Night Sitting by the Soviet.

Friday. Petrograd.

The inner history of the last few days is a story of the struggle between two tendencies in the Government and their supporters. The surprise of the German attack upset Russian calculations. Lenin's view was always that peace should have been signed at Brest. He believed that the best plan was to preserve as far as possible the Revolution in Russia itself, to keep it alive until a continuation of the war in Western Europe should bring other nations to join Russia in revolt. Trotsky, on the other hand, worked on the belief that a Western revolution was much nearer.

This explains his policy at Brest, based on the belief that Germany would be unable to take the risk of further military operations. Seven days notice before closing the armistice would have allowed a change from Trotsky's policy to Lenin's. This time was not given, and the Government were suddenly faced with a German advance at a moment when they had practically no forces with which to meet it. With a view of saving what was left of the revolution, Trotsky, after hesitation, went over to Lenin's side in the discussion, and a telegram was sent. The urgency was such that there was no time to call a meeting of the Central Executive. As soon as the news of the telegram of capitulation was published there was a terrible storm of indignation.

Opposition Attacks.

The Opposition parties, of course, seized upon it for political ends, and illogically attack the Government for trying to conclude peace,

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

and at the same time for having failed to conclude peace. The war party among the revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks attacked the Government of the Soviets for weakening. They held that once they had refused to sign the German terms they were weakening the moral strength of the revolution by afterwards agreeing. Radek and all with him were gladly preparing to fight to the death, confident that in so doing they were best serving the International Revolution, when, without their knowledge, the ground was cut from under their feet.

The next stage was one of a fractional meeting, in which the peace party gradually gained the ascendancy. It was noticeable that the soldiers, almost without exception, were anti-war, and of the workers favored fighting.

Meanwhile, no answer had been received from the Germans, and news from place after place along the front pointed to an easy German advance. That there was some actual basis for the belief of Trotsky and others that the Germans would not dare to move is shown by the news that one German Regiment shot forty two of its officers when ordered to advance. It was reported from Arensburg by an eye-witness that he saw there seventy Germans with bound hands under a strong convoy, who had refused to advance across the ice to Verder.

The German Advance.

It was further reported from the front that the enemy were advancing in groups of 100 or 200 men of various regiments, suggesting that the Germans were compelled to use volunteers, being unable to depend on regular units. From Dvinsk and other places, however, it was reported that the Russians offered only the slightest resistance, and retired without destroying materials and supplies. It should be realized that the only people who want

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

to fight are the convinced revolutionaries, who, though outnumbered by the apathetic mass, retain power by their positive affirmative energy.

As time went on and there was still no answer from the Germans, the war party succeeded in persuading Lenin that, if the Germans continued to advance, fight to a finish was the only policy which could not harm the cause of the Revolution. I met Radek last night in the Smolny Institute in a state of real joy after his despondency over the capitulatory telegram. He said: "The situation has much improved."

Asked how, he said: "We are going to fight, and if we go down fighting the cause of the Revolution is saved."

All day yesterday violent party meetings were held, ending up with meetings of the Petrograd Soviet and of the Executive Committee. In the Petrograd Soviet Zinovieff defended the capitulation telegram, which, he said, was justified by the resolution of the third assembly of Soviets and by the impossibility of offering a successful physical resistance.

Sunday.

I have just returned from a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the All – Russian Soviets, which decided in favor of concluding peace with the Central Empires on terms more humiliating than those which Austria offered in the ultimatum rejected by Serbia three and one half years ago. That decision was possibly due to the strictness of Bolshevik party discipline, since, with the exception of one man, who will probably be ejected from the party today, the Bolsheviks voted solid, although a considerable number believe that signing the peace is the suicide of the Russian Revolution, and the murder of the Revolution elsewhere.

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In the party meeting Lenin persuaded the majority to his view, with the result that the whole party supported him, and it was decided by the Central Executive to conclude peace by 116 against 85, 26 abstaining.

Only 35 hours ago the war party among the Bolsheviks was considering how to force a German reply by sending an ultimatum to cease the advance. Then came the news that the Germans were sending terms. Lenin, in an article in the "Pravda," had opened the attack on Trotsky, saying that all know who in Russia was sick with the "malady of revolutionary phrases."

The immediate purpose of that article was to destroy Trotsky's thesis that the Allies had already come to an agreement with Germany. Its ultimate purpose became clear yesterday afternoon, when, after the arrival of the German terms, which for severity are almost unparalleled in history, Lenin, in a further article, discloses his main line of argument for their acceptance.

This is that the international war was the source of the Revolution, and that since the international war will continue it will continue to feed the Revolution. Also that the Russians must, at all cost preserve as much as they can of the Revolution itself until that time when "bourgeois powers bleeds to death" and the Russian people are joined by the revolting nations in the West. Lenin referred to the view he had always held that peace should have been concluded at Brest.

Lenin's Surprise.

He has said: "If we refuse, then tremendous defeats will force Russia to conclude a still more disadvantageous peace." He pointed to the absolute refusal of the Army to fight, and came out

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

roundly with the ultimatum; "Only unrestrained rhetoric [referring to Trotsky] could force Russia to war in such conditions at the present moment, and, of course, I personally should not remain one second either in the Government or in the Central Committee of our party if the policy of rhetoric should conquer."

To realize the full effect of the surprise and shock of this declaration you should know that it appeared in the "Pravda," the editor of which had not had time to change the heavy type headlines, all of which, like the whole remaining contents of the paper, were in favor of fighting. Even today the «Isvestia» contains a war article by Trotsky, and the "Pravda" prints an appeal in English for the formation of a Foreign Legion of Revolutionaries to resist the German advance against Petrograd.

Of the German terms, the "Pravda" yesterday printed only a short summary of the four points, and the notice that the Executive Committee would meet at six. I went at once to the Taurida Palace, where the parties were sitting separately, and afterwards discussed together. Fierce little groups were in argument. At first many believed that Radek's War Party would win among the Bolsheviks, but these became gradually less hopeful. The Left wing of the Social Revolutionaries who were less under the immediate influence of Lenin, reported that in their party the majority was against signing peace.

Lenin's Cool Confidence.

There was a complete change of position in other parties. Thus, just as the Bolsheviks, who hitherto were against signing, are now more clearly in favor, so the all pacifist leaders, like Martoff, of the Internationalist , and Sukhanoff, of the "Novaya Jizn" group, were virtually against signing. The group of anti-- peace Bolsheviks,

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Radek, Volodarsky, Bronsky, and others, were less hopeful as the night wore on.

The general feeling in the great Hall was one of profound depression. During the inter – party meeting Lenin, after stating his own views, came out and sat with his back against the wall, one leg crossed over the other and arms folded, so confident in the correctness and force of his opinion that he did not take the trouble even to listen to the arguments of the opponents. His was the only cheerful figure in the hall, and to look at his countenance was to know that the anti– peace party had no hope.

The actual meeting of the Central Executive opened at 3:05 this morning. Sverdloff read the full German terms quickly and perfunctorily. They had already been read many times during the party meetings, but I am convinced that not half the members present realize their full significance. Trotsky was not present. He had sacrificed his position when he was persuaded by Lenin to put his name to the telegram offering peace. This was a negation of his whole policy. His authority was so weakened by this, that even if he had been present he would have been merely a prisoner behind Lenin's chariot wheels, and would have had to vote against himself.

Lenin's Arguments.

There was silence in the hall – such silence as in a court when the Judge is about to pass the death sentence. Lenin came confidently to the tribune, and in a 15 minute speech gave a relentless, unrhetorical statement of his position. He insisted that Russia could best serve the world Revolution by preserving as much as possible and strengthening the Soviet Government, keeping it in excesses until the opposing groups of fighting Powers should reach exhaustion, and thus bring Revolution. He laid stress on the

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

impossibility of resistance, and on the fact that other countries were not yet ready for revolt. (This is the main basis of his disagreement with Trotsky.) Therefore it was useless to enter on hopeless resistance in expectation that such action would immediately bring the democracies to the rescue. He was applauded by little more than half the Assembly.

Martoff made a good speech in opposition, but, like all of the opposition orators, he dwelt more on the mere disadvantages of a separate peace than on the terrible character of the actual terms.

Throughout I have the impression that the Assembly, in the stress of party struggle, did not realize what it was to which they were committing themselves. When it came to voting hands were counted with a view to quickly ascertain the result. The count gave 112 for peace, 84 against, with 22 not voting. Bonch-Bruevitch left the assembly to telegraph Russia's acceptance. Then the names of the members were read aloud. Each answered "for" or "against."

A "Death Sentence."

One Bolshevik Riazanhoff disobeyed party discipline and voted against signing for which he was cheered by the opposition. It was terrible to hear man after man who, up to the moment of the Assembly, had been working to prevent signature, now in dead voices recording their votes for their party against their conscience. After the voting the declarations of the parties were read from the tribune. Then, about six in the morning, the Committee adjourned. No sledges were yet on the streets.

I walked across Petrograd in the cold winter down with a small group of Bolsheviks, almost all of whom believed that they had just

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

connived at the death sentence of the Revolution. All were dead tired and walked like convicts. I could hardly force myself to realize that not quite a year ago, on just such a winter's dawn, I had walked those same streets in the joy and confidence of the awakening revolt.

NYT, February 28, 1918, .

**Russian Troops Refuse To Fight:
Peasant Soldiery Sweeping Back to Land in Uncontrollable Tidal Wave.**

**Workmen Eager To Fight:
Prediction That Occupied Provinces Will be Hotbeds of Trouble on Germany's Hands.**

Petrograd, February 23

Already with cooler minds even the militant party among the Bolsheviki are coming to recognize that Lenine possibly had reason on his side and that it may have been better to bow before the catastrophe than sacrifice Petrograd for the sake of a rhetorical gesture. We are beginning to realize exactly how grave was the threatening catastrophe.

Troops almost without exception have flatly refused to fight. A division supposed to be defending Narva turned up at Gatsehina, close to Petrograd. Chief Commander Krylenko protested and they replied that they had no intention of fighting.

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Immediately on the appearance of the first few German troops the Russian peasant soldiers, who, being peasants and not industrials, were interested merely in getting paid, cared nothing for the revolution and started eastward in an uncontrollable tidal wave, threatening to sack all the towns on the way. The disaster would have been even worse if they had not succeeded already in partial demobilization and if many thousands of soldiers had not already gone home. The Russian army was Germany's strongest weapon. In driving it toward Petrograd they were driving a stampeding herd of cattle which would trample into nothing all in the way.

While the revolutionary workmen could put up a guerrilla fight against the Germans they could do nothing against the Russian army, which must disappear before the revolution can begin to create for itself any real military force. The workmen of the towns are eager to fight.

Bolsheviki opposed to Peace.

Both the Petrograd and Moscow committees of the Bolsheviki were opposed to signing peace. I do not think anyone can suppose Russia ceases to count as a factor in the war. The terms imposed by Germany are such that no country, whether capitalist or Socialist, can live under them. They are such as to force Russia once more into the war. Many of the conditions Russia will actually be unable to keep. Germany has added to her superficial area some of the most revolutionary material in Russia. She will be compelled to waste numbers of men in keeping quiet. Polish, Estonian, Lettish, and Lithuanian unrest, all of which finds sympathy in Germany. It should be remembered that this week's catastrophe coincides with the triumph of the revolution throughout Russia.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

The Cossacks' Rada and all anti-Soviet movements have been suppressed by the revolutionary warfare. When once the army is got rid of, whether they will or not, the Soviets will find themselves waging war against Germany.

DN. February 28, 1918.

No Armistice.

"Peace Will be Signed, but the War Will Continue."

Petrograd, Tuesday.

The German reply has been received. There will be no armistice. Peace will be signed, but the movements of troops will continue with a view to assisting this self – definition of Estonia, Livonia, Courland, and Finland. Mention of this last makes perfectly clear the German intention of coming to Petrograd. Their reply is a cynical antithesis to the Russian declaration at Brest. The Russians said, "Peace will not be signed, but the war is finished." The Germans say, "peace will be signed, but the war will continue."

DN. March 8, 1918.

Stricken Russia.

Effort to Organize Revolutionary Army.

Distrust Of Germany.

No Faith in the Treaty Which May Be Repudiated on Tuesday.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

[In a further vivid dispatch Mr. Ransome, our Special Correspondent at Petrograd, discusses the prospects of a renewal of the war by Russia. It is not yet certain that the peace treaty with Germany will be ratified by the Council of the Soviets on Tuesday next. There is no feeling that the peace is secure, and it is widely held that the conditions imposed by Germany are impossible of fulfillment. The newspapers are unanimous on the needs of organizing the forces of resistance.]

Today, March 8, is the first anniversary of the beginning of the Revolution in Russia. A dispatch from Mr. Ransome, dated March 12 last, and referring to "the disorders of the past few days," was the first intimation of the outbreak of a movement the succeeding stages of which he has brilliantly chronicled throughout.]

Internal Chaos.

Railways Disorganized by Returning Army.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The contest for or against ratification of the peace treaty, which will be decided by the All – Russian Assembly of the Soviets at Moscow on Tuesday, is now between the Left Social Revolutionaries and part of the Bolsheviks against the rest of the Bolsheviks led by Lenin. The Petrograd Soviet follows Lenin, and Moscow also. Lenin's view is that peace is essential for the next stage in the unfinished struggle. He says: "The Germans were more humiliated by Napoleon than we are by the Germans. We have concluded our peace of Tilsit (1807 to 1810), and, just as the Germans did, we shall attain finally the Peace of 1813 – 1814. Probably we shall not have to wait so long, because history now moves faster."

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Lenin points out that the attitude of the Left Social Revolutionaries alienates them from the very peasants whom they represent, since the Army is a peasant army, and refuses to fight.

The archives and secret documents of the Foreign Office, which I helped to pack, have left Petrograd. The Ministry of Naval Affairs is going to Nijni Novgorod. The meeting of the Assembly at Moscow, not Petrograd, is the first step to shifting the seat of Government deep into Russia. This will lessen the power of the German threat, which would otherwise be permanent over the Government.

Peace In Order To Prepare.

The "Pravda" says: "The Soviet Government at the present moment needs peace. It needs peace urgently. Least of all is it possible to blame it for praying for peace. The Soviet Government is doing all that is possible to get peace. But it would be madness to trust the words of General Hoffmann and Count Czernin. The Soviet Republic must be ready at any moment for defense, ready at any moment to return to a state of war."

I cannot find a single newspaper, or a single politician of whatever party, ready to admit that this can be a lasting peace. Many consider it probable that it will not be ratified by the All – Russian Assembly. Many who think it will be so ratified point to one condition after another which the Russians will be unable to keep, thus giving the Germans an excuse for further attack.

Organizing Resistance.

All agree on the immediate need for organized forces of resistance. For this the first essential is to get the great bulk of the old Army out of the way. The second is to prepare a volunteer

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army, every member of which shall know what he is fighting for. The third necessity is transport reorganization, and partially dependent on that is the reorganization of the food supply.

Rural life, on which Russia exists, is nearly at a standstill from sheer lack of the simplest agricultural implements. The railways have already broken down, and are a crawling mass of demobilized soldiery, many of whom have no intention of whatever of returning home, but have entered upon a half – conscious nomadic existence.

I have just returned from a special mission into the interior. Every station was like an open hive of gray bees, all drones, swarming over the lines and platforms, packing themselves again into cattle trucks – traveling on the buffers when there was no other room, and going further. Every stopping place smells like a vast latrine.

Meanwhile other traffic is almost impossible. I believe myself it may be years before the demobilization of the Russian Army is concluded and the grey sentiment of aimless migration subsides. Yet even this is less dangerous than to have these millions ready to be driven to sacking, burning, and destroying in front of the advancing enemy, as happened last year.

An heroic few are struggling to make headway in the maelstrom. I saw much rolling stock, field wagons, and engineering plant evacuated from the Baltic district during the last few days. Much of it was thrown by the side of the line, and will certainly rot; but the fact that it was there proves that a real effort is being made to keep it from the Germans.

Again, a real effort is being made to arm and train the Red Army of workingmen. I returned to Petrograd with the train loaded with rifles, which are being brought to arm this new force of the only

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people in Russia who realize what they have to lose by the defeat of the Revolution. At every stop a guard of workmen, in rough sheepskin and felt boots, tumbled out and patrolled the train with something more like keenness and discipline that I have seen since the first Revolution. Officers of the old Army are summoned to form cadres for the instruction of the new.

Until this Army is formed only a lunatic would expect Russia to do serious fighting. Whatever resistance has been made to the Germans the brunt of the struggle has been borne by workmen and sailors (who were largely drawn from the workmen class). Thus at Narva, where nearly 500 were wounded, most of them were sailors, only a very small portion being soldiers.

From all parts come the worst obstacle to a successful defense is the remnant of the Army who block the railway stations, and camping in cattle trucks, offer a good – tempered indolent, passive resistance to any effort to get the tracks clear for the urgent traffic of the war. It is characteristic of the spirit of the demoralized Army that ammunition wagons and Red Cross carts are evacuated by them in preference to guns for the simple reason that they are more comfortable as a means of conveyance for themselves.

The All – Russian Assembly will decide whether Russia will continue to fight under present conditions or will submit to peace in order to pull herself together to fight a new war with a new Army. If the peace ratified it will be ratified in that spirit.

Desperate Position.

Meanwhile, the position is desperate. The Germans, in concert with supporters of the Rada, are driving the Soviet power out of the Ukraine granary. This not only means corn supplies for Germany, but also destroys what hope there was of getting that

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corn to starving Northern Russia. The thousands who walk out along the roads and railways from Petrograd, and are willing to risk their lives traveling on the roofs or buffers 500 or 1000 miles and more, do so more for the sake of finding food than of escaping from the Germans.

Simultaneously all the Allied Embassies are leaving. The Japanese and Chinese insisted on proceeding East, thus helping to justify the fears of Japanese action in Siberia. Such action would mean adding a shortage of meat to the absence of corn. It would make the national catastrophe not only unavoidable, but also irreparable. At present the Russians, while doubting if peace is possible, point with some satisfaction to the oppressive nature of the terms, which are such as to compel the nation to struggle for existence. But if action in the East still further weakens Russia, that struggle will not have even a chance of success.

NYT. March 9, 1918.

Peace Can't Last, Russians Agree:

Ratification by Soviets Would Be for Respite in Which to Reorganize for War.

Army Migrating Inland:

May Be Years Before Its Gray Sediment Which Covers the Railroads Settles Down.

Petrograd, March 6 (Delayed)

Peace is signed and Russia at this moment is in more warlike mood than she has been since 1914. Peace is signed, but

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ratification of the treaty depends on the fourth All-Russian Assembly of Soviets, which meets at Moscow on March 12. The majority of the provincial Soviets seem to be in favor of war. Those who favor peace do so with the open declaration that they do not regard this peace as final, but as a breathing space the necessity of which is obvious to everybody.

Nobody believes this peace can be permanent, and many believe it will not even permit Russia, broken, weary, and starving, as she is, the breathing space it seems to promise. The Red Gazette, published by the Petrograd Soviet, says, in a leader called "Prepare for the Struggle":

"We have done nothing shameful in signing a bitter peace in terrible agony, but Russia would be covering herself with shame, and with shame unthinkable, if for one minute she should be reconciled to such a peace, if for one moment she should resign the idea of setting right that peace by a new and ten times fiercer struggle with the bandit who has temporarily subdued her.

"He is not a slave who is forced into slavery. There is no need for talk about a revolutionary war. We are all in favor of it, and cursed be the man who forgets the holiness and necessity of that war. There is no need to talk of the hardness of the conditions of peace. How hard they are we all perfectly understand. What is needed is the immediate violent work of getting our life in order and preparing for the new and tremendous struggle for our ideals and, above all, for an honorable democratic peace. Let us prepare for the struggle." The contest for and against ratification is now between the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and a part of the Bolsheviki and the rest of the Bolsheviks led by Lenine. The Petrograd Soviet

follows Lenine; that of Moscow also. Lenine's view is that peace is essential for the next stage in the unfinished struggle.

"The Germans were more humiliated by Napoleon than we have been by the Germans," he says. "We have concluded our peace of Tilsit, (1807 to 1810,) and, just as the Germans did, we shall attain finally the peace of 1813-1814. We probably shall not have to wait so long, because history now moves faster."

Lenine points out that the attitude of the Left Socialists alienates them from the very peasants whom they represent, since the army is a peasant army and refuses to fight.

The archives and secret documents of the Foreign Office, which I helped to pack, have left Petrograd. The meeting of the Assembly at Moscow, not Petrograd, is the first step to shifting the seat of Government deep into Russia. This will lessen the power of the German threat which otherwise would be permanently over the Government.

The Pravda, says:

"The Soviet Government at the present moment needs peace. It needs peace urgently. Least of all is it possible to blame it for playing for peace: The Soviet Government is doing all possible to get peace. But it would be madness to trust the words of Hoffmann and Czernin. The Soviet republic must be ready at any moment for defense, ready at any moment to return to a state of war." Earlier in the same article it says:

"War against the Soviet Government is necessary for the Austro-German reaction. They sign peace, but they are not prepared for a

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single moment to stop the struggle against the Soviet Government."

The Izvestia says that peace is not shameful, any more than it is shameful when, after an unsuccessful strike, workmen are forced to conclude an agreement with a capitalist.

No Chance of Lasting Peace.

I cannot find a single newspaper or a single politician, of whatever party, ready to admit that this can be a lasting peace. Many consider it probable that it will not be ratified by the All-Russian Assembly. Many who think it will be so ratified point to one condition after another which the Russians will be unable to keep, thus giving the Germans an excuse for further attack.

All agree on the immediate need for organized sorties of resistance. For this the first essential is to get the great bulk of the old army out of the way. The second is to prepare a volunteer army, every member of which shall know what he is fighting for. The third is transport reorganization and, partly dependent on that reorganizations, the food supply. The rural life on which Russia exists, is nearly at a standstill from sheer lack of the simplest of agricultural implements. On the railways, already broken down, are crawling a mass of demobilized soldiery, many of whom have no intention whatever of returning home, but have entered upon a half-conscious nomadic existence.

I have just returned from a special mission into the interior. Every station was like an opened hive of gray bees, all drones, swarming over lines and platforms, packing themselves again into cattle trucks and traveling on buffers when there was no other room.

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Every stopping place smells like a vast latrine. Meanwhile other traffic is almost impossible.

I believe myself it may be years before the demobilization of the Russian Army is concluded and the gray sediment of aimless migration subsides. Yet even this is less dangerous than to have these millions ready to be driven--sacking, burning, and destroying in front of the advancing enemy as happened last year.

A heroic few are struggling to make headway in the maelstrom. I saw myself much rolling stock, field wagons and engineering plant, evacuated from the Baltic district during the last few days. Much of it thrown by the side of the line will certainly rot, but the fact that it is there proves that a real effort is being made to keep it from the Germans.

Again a real effort is being made to arm and train a Red army of workingmen. I returned to Petrograd with a train loaded with rifles which were being brought to arm this new force of the only people in Russia who realize what they have to lose by defeat of the revolution. At every stop a guard of workmen in rough sheepskins and felt boots tumbled out and patrolled the train with something more like keenness and discipline than have been seen since the first revolution.

Officers of Old Army Called.

Officers of the old army are summoned to form classes for instruction of the new. Until this army is formed only a lunatic could expect Russia to do serious fighting. Wherever resistance is made to the Germans the brunt of the struggle is borne by workmen and sailors (who are largely drawn from the working

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mass). Thus, at Narva, where there were nearly 500 wounded, most of them were sailors, only a very small proportion being soldiers.

From all parts of the front come reports that the worst obstacle to successful defense is the remains of the army, who block the railway stations and, camping in cattle trucks, offer good tempered, indolent, passive resistance to any effort to get the trucks clear for the urgent traffic of war, Characteristic of the spirit of the demoralized army is the fact that ammunition and Red Cross wagons are evacuated by them in preference to guns, for the simple reason that they are more comfortable as a means of conveyance for themselves.

The All-Russian Assembly will decide whether Russia shall continue to fight under present conditions or submit to peace in order to pull herself together to fight a new war with a new army. If peace is ratified it will be ratified in that spirit. Meanwhile the position is desperate. The Germans in concert with supporters of the Rada, are driving the Soviet power out of the Ukraine granary. This not only means corn supplies for Germany, but also destroys what hope there was of getting that corn to starving Northern Russia. The thousands who walk out along the roads and railways from Petrograd and are willing to risk their lives have travelling on roofs or buffers five hundred or a thousand miles and more do so more for the sake of finding food than of escaping from the Germans. Simultaneously all allied embassies are leaving. The Japanese and Chinese insisted on proceeding east, thus helping to justify fears of Japanese action in Siberia. Such action would mean adding a shortage of meat to the absence of corn. It would make a national catastrophe not only unavoidable, but also irreparable.

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At present the Russians, while doubting if peace is possible, point with some satisfaction to the oppressive nature of the terms, which are such as to compel the nation to struggle for existence. But if action in the east still further weakens Russia that struggle will not have even a chance of success.

DN. March 14, 1918.

**Moscow Now The Capital.
Ready for Peace as a Means to War.
Danger Of Japanese Intervention.**

Moscow, Tuesday.

Lenin and the Government reached here last night, bringing back to Moscow the old rights of the capital city, which Peter the Great took with him 215 years ago when he went north to build a new city on the swamps at the mouth of the Neva.

Today in the Hall of the National Hotel I met with Lenin, Bonchbruevitch, and Sverdloff. The hall was piled up with unimaginable rags and tatters of baggage and bedding rolled in blankets, and every kind of tatterdemalion basket and tattered trunks. Here was Lenin himself, the best – hated man in Russia and the man with the most influence over his followers, calm as usual, fearless as usual, without any guard whatsoever in the old stronghold of Russian capitalism, which is his sworn enemy.

The Italian Gate of the Kremlin has been badly knocked about by shell fire. Below this sacred picture on the gate still hangs an inscription declaring that throughout the raid of Napoleon in 1812 the picture was preserved undamaged by special provision of the Almighty. The picture is now shot to pieces, except for one mullet

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– wounded Angel. Half the shop windows are boarded up; many others have windows with half – a – dozen bulletholes patched with paper.

Peace The Gate To War.

All the gates of the Kremlin except one are closed. I succeeded in getting in, and saw huge stores of ammunition on hundreds of ammunition and carts, which with the regiment of Lettish sharpshooters brought from the Smolny Institute, will go far to turn the old fortress of Ivan the Terrible into a new fortress of the Revolution. The All – Russian Assembly will meet the day after tomorrow in the old Hall of the Nobility.

Peace will probably be ratified because Lenin has succeeded in carrying a majority of the Bolshevik party with him, in the belief that a separate peace is Russia's only hope of avoiding separate destruction and retaining power to recuperate and continue the struggle. The Russian propertied classes are nearer to the facts than England or France realize – that peace, in the true sense of the word, is impossible so long as the Soviet power persists.

Last night at the house of a Moscow businessman, I heard men say they would rather be ruled by the Chinese Emperor than by the Bolsheviks. They spoke of the Germans as saviors. As to the suggestion that the Bolsheviks have been bought by Germany, these businessmen said: "We only wish they were." They realize that the Soviet power with Lenin at the head is a danger to Germany and death to themselves.

They realize that hostility between the Bolsheviks and German finance lies so deep that the ratification of peace can delay only for short time the renewal of hostilities. They realize that hostilities, military or political, will never actually cease until one

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or the other is overthrown, and that their own prospects of doing business with the Germans depends largely on the downfall of the Soviets, for which they pray.

"Mad And Bad."

The Allies will be helping them and Germany if they allow the intervention of Japan against the will of the Soviet in Siberia. Such an act would be as mad and as bad as the support of the Ukrainian Rada on the foolish assumption that because it was opposed to the Soviet it was, therefore, opposed to Germany. It would be a death – blow to Russian plans of further resistance to Germany. It would not unlikely end in makingent Germany of all the resources of Russia up to the Urals.

Nothing about the existence of the Soviet Government stands between Germany and the realization of the grandiose dream of Mittel – Europa. The Soviet Government also has a grandiose dream of a European revolution which would make an end of militarism. Every step taken against the Soviet helps Germany.

Russia is temporarily concluding a separate peace. If the Soviet power is overthrown that peace may be permanent. That peace and the Soviet power cannot long exist.

NYT, March 16, 1918, .

Lenine's Migration A Queer Scene:

Premier in Moscow, Capitalism's Stronghold,. Serene Amid His Tattered Baggage.

Moscow, March. 12.

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Premier Lenine and his Government reached here last night bringing back to Moscow: its old rights of a-capital city which Peter the, Great took with him 215 years ago when he went north to build a new city on the swamps at the mouth of the Neva.

It was a strange homecoming. Never did any Government move with less pomp unless it was the. Government of Peter himself, 8who like Lenine, had a genial disregard for nonessentials. Today, in the hall of the National Hotel, I met Lenine, Bouch-Bruevitch, and Sverdloff. The hall was piled up with unimaginable rags and tatters of baggage and bedding rolled in blankets every kind of tatterdemalion basket and battered trunk. Here was Lenine himself, the best-hated man in Russia, the man with most influence over his followers, calm as usual and fearless as usual, without any guard whatsoever, in the old stronghold of Russian capitalism, which is his sworn enemy.

This Moscow to which the Government has come is not the Moscow I knew a year ago. This is a city scarred by revolution. Corner houses and sometimes the whole side of a street, are pitted all over with bullet holes, The Italian gate of the. Kremlin has been badly knocked about by shellfire. Below the sacred picture on the gate still hangs the inscription declaring that through-out the raid of Napoleon in 1812 the picture was preserved undamaged by special provision of the Almighty, but the picture is now shot to 'pieces except for one bullet-wounded angel. Half the shop windows are boarded up. Many others have windows with half a dozen bullet holes patched with piper.

All the gates of the Kremlin except one are closed. I succeeded in getting in and saw huge stores of ammunition on hundreds of ammunition carts which. with a regiment of Lettish sharpshooters brought from the Smolny Institute, will go far to turn the old fortress of Ivan the Terrible into a new fortress of the revolution.

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Lenine has succeeded in carrying a majority of the Bolshevik Party with him in the belief that separate peace is Russia's, only hope of avoiding separate destruction and retaining power to recuperate and continue the struggle. The Russian propertied classes are nearer to the facts than England or France realizes--that peace in the true sense of the word is impossible so long as the Soviet power persists. Last night at the house of a Moscow business man I heard men say they would rather be ruled by the Chinese Emperor than by the Bolsheviks. They spoke of the Germans as saviors. As to the suggestion that the Bolsheviks have been bought by Germany these business men said: "We only wish they were."

They realize that the Soviet power with Lenine at its head is a danger to Germany and death to themselves. They realize that hostility between the Bolsheviks and German finance lies so deep that ratification of peace can delay for only a short time a renewal of hostilities. They realize that hostilities, military or political, will never actually cease until one or the other is overthrown and that their own prospects of doing business with the Germans depends largely on the downfall of the Soviets, for which they pray.

The Allies will be helping them and Germany if they allow the intervention of Japan against the will of the Soviet in Siberia. Such an act would be as mad and as bad a support of the Ukrainian Rada on the foolish assumption that because it was opposed to Soviet it was therefore opposed to Germany. It would be the deathblow to Russian plans of further resistance to Germany. It would not unlikely end in making a present to Germany of all the resources of Russia up to the Urals.

Nothing but the existence of the Soviet Government stands between Germany and the realization of her grandiose dream of Mitteleuropa. The Soviet Government also has a grandiose dream

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DN. March 18, 1918.

Not Final Peace.

Russia to Prepare for a New War.

"Transitory" Agreement.

Moscow, Saturday.

The All – Russian Congress of Soviets has ratified the Peace Treaty, but everybody here realizes that the agreement now sealed is purely transitory. A prominent Bolshevik speaking to me yesterday expresse the general feeling when he said: "Our hope now is in Hindenburg and Ludendorff. If they are puffed up by success in the East and refuse an agreement in the West then the war will continue and the eventual victory of the Revolution is assured." Hence the Bolshevik fear that the proposed freehand for Japan is the first step towards the general peace at Russia's expense.

The conclusion of peace is for the Bolsheviks not an end but a means to an end. They are fairly confident that the war will continue. Thus the "Pravda" says: "Contrary to the expectation of the German soldiers, tricked by an Imperialist peace dictated by Generl Hoffmann to Russia, it is not the beginning of a general peace, but merely a base for the renewal of an unexplained struggle." It must be remembered that from the Soviets point of

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view the present war is internecine struggle between two Imperialistic groups superimposed on a more vital struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working classes. On this point the "Pravda" says: "Only agreement and alliance between both Imperialistic bands could ensure them a general victory. And such an agreement does not exist. On the other hand, old agreements are breaking. The relations between Germany and Austria are becoming more difficult, and on the other side conflict is growing in the camp of the Allies."

Warning To Allies.

That is the Bolshevik theory, but the fact remains that their nearest enemy is Germany and that the present peace in no way means the cessation of hostilities. Russia is at present weak, but will not be so forever. The Soviet power will be glad of any help which it can take without sacrificing its revolutionary position. England should not be blinded by the poisoned dust which will be raised around this temporary peace. The Russians have good memories. The punitive isolation of Russia at this moment would be not only a crime against democracy but also shortsighted failing on the part of any nation engaged in the struggle against the German militarism.

The exact figures of the Soviet vote on ratification are not yet known, but a preliminary vote by show of hands gave an obvious majority in favor of ratification. About 80 Bolsheviks did not vote. The Left Social Revolutionaries announced that as a party they would leave the Government, and would not share the responsibility of putting the peace conditions into effect. They would, however, continue to support the Governments social program. Their position is curious since they mostly represent the peasants both in the Army and outside it, whose unwillingness to fight is the principal reason why war is impossible. Hence their

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criticism of the Bolsheviks is rhetoric because their own electors refused to fight.

The main line of the opposition was that the Germans would not give Russia even the shortest breathing space. This possibility was recognized also by the Bolsheviks. Not a single speaker suggested that the peace could be anything but transitory. That is the essential point.

Peace is now ratified and the revolution enters on a new phase of preparation for war. The main object of signing peace is to get through the demobilization of the present army the existence of which is the principal obstacle to Russia's effective defense. In Finland, Ukraine and against Kaledin armed workmen proved again and again willing to fight and able to fight successfully.

**Opening Of The Congress.
Friday.**

I was present at the opening of the fourth All – Russian Assembly of Soviets called to decide the question of peace. There were 1084 delegates of whom 737 were Bolsheviks and 218 Left Social Revolutionaries, the remaining seats being divided among the seven other parties.

M. Sverdloff read many greetings, among them the special message from President Wilson. The reply to this message in characteristic Bolshevik language was the only reply the Government could make without expressing itself to the accusation of open agreement with a bourgeois government and consequently does not reflect the very real relief with which as I happen to know, Mr. Wilson's message was received.

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M.Tcherberin reported on the peace terms. Many delegates complained that they were unable to hear him. Then Lenin, who was greeted with an ovation that showed how unshaken is his position, made a long speech explaining his view of Russia's need of peace as a breathing space before the final struggle.

NYT, March 20, 1918, .

**Press Sees In Peace Base For New Fight:
Fear That. Free Hand for Japan Would Be a Step at the Expense of
Russia.**

**Wilson Message Pleases:
Regarded in Same Quarters as Limited Recognition of the
Bolshevist Government.**

Moscow, March 16, (Delayed.)

Everybody here realizes that the peace treaty ratified by the Congress of Soviets is a purely transitory agreement. A prominent Bolshevik speaking to me yesterday expressed the general feeling when he said: "Our hope now is in Hindenburg and Ludendorf. If they are puffed up by success in the east and refuse an agreement in the east then the war will continue and the eventual victory of the revolution is assured."

Hence the Bolsheviki fear that the proposed freed hand for Japan is a first step toward a general peace at Russia's expense.

The conclusion of peace is for the Bolsheviki , not an end but a means to an end. They are fairly confident that war will continue. Thus the Pravda says:

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"Contrary to the expectations of the German soldiers, tricked by an imperialist peace dictated by General Hoffman to Russia, it is not the beginning of a general peace but merely the base for the renewal of an unexampled struggle."

It must be remembered that from the Soviets' point of view the present war is an internecine struggle between two imperialistic groups, superimposed on a more vital struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working classes. On this point the Pravda says:

"Only an agreement and an alliance between both the imperialistic bands could insure them general victory, and such an agreement does not exist. On the other hand, old agreements are breaking. The relation between Germany and Austria are becoming more difficult, and on the other side conflict is growing in the camp of the Allies."

DN. March 20, 1918.

Peace Without Faith.

New Move by Germans Expected in Russia.

A Feudal Soviet.

Moscow, Tuesday.

The Soviet Assembly has closed after the transaction of urgent business. Peace has been ratified by 1011 against 285, with 115 not voting and about 100 absent. The transference of the capital to Moscow was approved. The new Executive Committee is based upon proportional representation as formally, but there was only one representative to every six delegates to the Assembly. The committee, therefore, is composed of about 200 members.

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The Ministerial crisis due to the resignation of Ministers opposed to ratification is not yet ended, but I am inclined to believe it is not likely to be serious owing to the general realization that the preservation and consolidation of the Soviet power is the only possible guarantee of the salvation of the Revolution. The Left Social Revolutionaries, as the "Pravda" points out, have "washed their hands" of the Government before, but have always returned to their posts.

The general feeling is one of questioning: What will be the result of the ratification? How long will it be before the Germans show their hand, and proved they cannot tolerate the neighborhood of the Soviet Government? None expects the pseudo— peace to last long. Many think it will not last at all. Throughout the supposed armistice the Germans pushed forward and occupied Orsha, Mehileff, and Vance towards Briansk, diverting their major threat southwards with a view of cutting off the Ukraine from Moscow.

"From the moment of ratification," said the "Pravda," "work should be instantly begun at the new task of arming the present unarmed Socialist Republic. Not an hour is to be lost. All the local Soviets should be put to work forming an armed force. Thus the Soviet will become a sort of feudal power with each local Soviet bringing armed men for the defense of the Soviet as a whole."

DN. March 22, 1918.

Trotsky's View On Siberia.

No Belief in Stories of Armed Prisoners.

Moscow, Wednesday.

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Trotsky declares that the wild stories about arming the Austro – German prisoners in Siberia are without foundation. I have talked with an American who is just arrived in Moscow via Siberia with a large quantity of foodstuffs. He reports that he never had any easier journey. The Irkutsk Soviet telegraphs that the Commission of Inquiry into the plot of officers and against the Soviet power in Siberia has definitely established the fact that the Cossack leader Semenov is operating with a band on the Manchurian borders.

The new agreement with China provides that Semenov's bands should not be allowed by the Chinese to cross the Manchurian frontier into Russian territory. Direct passenger communication with China and Vladivostok through Harbin has been restored. A Russian – Chinese Customs station has been established. It is announced from Blagovesthensk that during the Civil War in the Amur district the Chinese troops loyally refrained from taking part in spite of the attempts by White Guards to provoke Chinese intervention by firing on the Chinese town.

At its first meeting, after the ratification of peace, the Moscow Soviet devoted itself wholly to the question of military preparation.

Trotsky insisted that an army was necessary to fight East and West alike.

"We cannot preserve the illusion that European capital will patiently suffer the fact that in Russia the power is in the hands of the working class." He said. "We will create collective discipline, and when the European proletariat rises in revolt we shall say, 'And we are here.'"

This is, in principle, the acceptance of Lenin's theory that the task of the Soviets is to hold on until mutual exhaustion of the fighting

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of groups of European capital brings about revolution in all countries.

In a leading article the "Pravda" gives a series of reasons why war must continue indefinitely. For example, Germany is able to feed herself from the East, to secure metals, and, in case of need, to get the Ukrainians and the polls to replenish her armies.

"Hitherto," it continues, "the revolution has profited by the war, and now the war hopes to profit by the revolution. The endless world – war will rouse the millions of Labor against Imperialist adventurers. Our task is to send to join them the Army of the Soviet Republic, not to strengthen – as the Imperialist calculate – this or that bourgeois front, but to turn the front of the world – war into the front of the workers and soldiers revolution."

NYT, March 25, 1918, .

Reds Plan Army For World Revolt:

Trotsky Talks of Force of from 300,000 to 750,000 to Aid the Proletariat.

Exhaustion To End War:

With Aid of Ukrainians and Poles Germany Can Fight Indefinitely, it is. Argued.

Moscow, March 20

At its first meeting after ratification of peace the Moscow Soviet devoted itself wholly to the question of military preparation. Taroslavsky, for the Bolsheviki, presenting said they had nothing to demobilize. The question before them was the creation of a new army. He referred to statements of the Germans in Brest-Litovsk that twenty-five divisions would suffice for the occupation of all Soviet Russia.

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Trotsky insisted that an army was necessary to fight east and west alike. "We cannot preserve the illusion that European capital will patiently suffer the fact that in Russia the power is in the hands of the working class," he said. He spoke also of the need of revolutionary discipline and need of general instruction of the working class in the use of arms.

"At first," he went on, "we need an army of 300,000 or 500,000--at most three-quarters of a million." He ended his speech with the declaration. "We will create collective discipline. And when the European proletariat rises in revolt we shall say, 'We are here.'"

This is in principle acceptance of Lenine's theory that the task of the Soviets is to hold on until mutual exhaustion from fighting of the groups of European capital brings about a revolution to all countries. As to the question of electing officers, Trotsky said they would be elected, but would be compelled to give proof of fitness to carry out their duties.

In a leading article the Pravda gives a series of reasons why the war must continue indefinitely. For example, Germany is able to feed herself from the east, to secure metals, and in case of need to get Ukrainians and Poles to replenish her armies. "Therefore the whole future course of war between the imperialist will actually be decided by the policy followed by Russia." The Germans think they will be able to profit by Russia's weakness. The English and French think Russia in some form or other will continue the war.

"Hitherto," it continues, "the revolution has profited by the war and now the war hopes to profit by the revolution. The endless world war will rouse the millions of labor against the imperialist adventurers. Our task is to send to join them an army of the Soviet Republic, not to strengthen, as the imperialists calculate, this or

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that bourgeois front, but to turn the front of the world war into a front of the workers and soldiers' revolution."

Trotsky declares the wild stories about arming Austro-German prisoners in Siberia are without foundation. I have talked with an American who has just arrived in Moscow via Siberia, with a large quantity of foodstuffs. He reports that he never had an easier journey.

The Irkutsk Soviet telegraphs that the commission of inquiry into the plot of officers against the Soviet power in Siberia has definitely established the fact that the Cossack leader; Semenov, is operating; with bands on the Manchurian borders. A new agreement with China provides that Semenov's bands should not be allowed by the Chinese to cross the Manchurian frontier into Russian territory.

Direct passenger communication with China and Vladivostok through Harbin has been restored. Russian-Chinese customs station have been established. It is announced from .Blagovestchenk that during the civil war in the old district the Chinese troops loyally refrained from taking part, in spite of attempts by the White Guards to provoke Chinese intervention by firing, on the Chinese town.

NYT. March 25, 1918, .

**Trotsky's View Of Japan:
Believes Germans Would Welcome Invaders and Ask Them to Stay.**

Moscow, March 22.

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I saw Trotsky, People's Commissary for War, in his room in a small hotel near the Kremlin today and asked his opinion of Balfour's speech, which is only now printed fully in the Russian newspapers. Trotsky said: "The main point of the speech is that Japanese intervention is intended to help the Russians. The question is, what Russians? Certainly it is not intended to help the Soviet power, but rather the bourgeois classes. "Now the interests of the bourgeois classes compel them to friendship with Germany. They must see in Germany the only hope of support against the awakened fires of social revolution which, even if momentarily suppressed, would merely turn into a volcano beneath them, perpetually compelling them to closer and closer reliance on their reactionary neighbors, Japan on one side, Germany on the other."

I asked what would be the effect of the control of the Siberian Railway by the bourgeois Russians and Japanese troops. Trotsky said: "It would throttle the Soviet power in European Russia and would insure its final collapse and the establishment instead of a German controlled bourgeois in Eastern Russia.

I said: "But if the Japanese withdraw their troops?"

He replied : " Does it not occur to all that it is the ,Germans themselves who would be the first to invite the Japanese to remain since the departure of the Japanese might mean the rebirth of the Soviet power, which by its very existence, however remote, would be a danger to Germany? Don't the Allies perceive that Japanese intervention now would insure that sooner or later German and Japanese interests would coincide in direct opposition to the interests of the Allies?"

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DN. March 27, 1918.

Trouble In The Ukraine.

Anti— German Revolt.

Kherson & Nikolaieff Reported Cleared.

Moscow, Saturday.

In the "Izvestia "M.Kezhentseff says that in the recent relations between the Allies and Russia an extremely original understanding of friendship has been noticed. "Hitherto," he writes, "only America has found a more suitable tone. Whatever may be the new international relations of Russia, it may be said that the Allies, owing to insufficiently reckoning with the wishes of the Russian people, are themselves preventing an English or French orientation."

A leader in the same paper refers to the unanimity with which Russian bourgeoisie and pseudo— Liberals show eagerness to invite foreign help to safeguard their own class interest. It compares this with the historical invitation to the Scandinavian conquerors with which Russian history begins.

"Our land," says the leader, "is great and rich, but without order. Come, you take it and leave Princes over us." The article, after a detailed examination of the bourgeois hopes of German and Japanese help in disestablishing the Soviets, says: "If they succeed wholly or partly in carrying out the treacherous plans, their triumph will be short – lived. Against them and their protectors will rise a wave of international Socialist revolution, which will sweep them once for all from the earth."

The Ukrainian Assembly of Soviets has agreed to recognize the Rada's peace on condition that Austria and Germany do not

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interfere in the internal affairs of the Ukraine and remove their troops. They are sending representatives to the International Socialist Conference, and are prepared to continue the struggle against the "bourgeois robbers" – by means of guerrilla warfare, strikes, and non-payment of taxes.

The New Army.

Yesterday Lenin, Trotsky, and others addressed meetings throughout Moscow on organization of defense. Trotsky said the conditions of peace placed Russia under continual threat from Germany, Japan, and other Imperialistic countries. Therefore it could not be lasting. The immediate task of the Revolution was the preparation of armed resistance against internal enemies. He spoke of concrete methods.

"In view of the approach of spring and agricultural work," he said, "general mobilization is impossible. Meanwhile we must limit ourselves to general obligatory instruction in the the use of arms and the formation of volunteer detachments as a skeleton for the new mass of the Army."

I do not think Trotsky will have the least difficulty in forming the cadres of the new Army. The difficulty will be in obtaining men. In this task, however, he will be helped by the Germans, whose open hostility to the Soviets may really end in the creation of a new spirit of resistance in the masses, especially in the manufacturing districts, where thousands will fight for the Soviets, who are more or less indifferent as to Russia's frontiers and map.

Sunday.

The French Ambassadors and members of other Embassies are returning to Russia from Finland and proceeding to Vologda, where

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the American Ambassador has remained since the general evacuation of the Embassies from Petrograd.

The Ukraine Corn.

The Germans are not having everything their own way in the Ukraine. The «Isvestia» reports that both Kheraun and Nikolaeff have been cleared of Germans, the former by the revolt of the inhabitants, and the latter after an artillery bombardment. Great efforts are being made to get corn out of the Ukraine before it is seized by the Germans. The action of the Germans in seizing the corn is rousing the armed resistance of the peasants and also further north.

Dybenko, the Peoples Commissary, was recently arrested in connection with his action at Narva, where the guerrilla troops under his command were defeated by the Germans. This led to a determined protest among the sailors with whom Dybenko is extremely popular. A court of inquiry was appointed, and has begun its work. The sailors, however, demanded his release and the appointment of another court of inquiry, half to be composed of sailors of his guerrilla detachments. The dissatisfaction also took the form of a protest against the employment of the Generals of the old Army, the sailors objecting in particular to Bonchbraevitch, Bebwartz, and Parsky, who was in command at Narva. Madame Kollontai, Dybenko's wife supported in the opposition to their employment. A detachment of sailors came from the Northern front with the intention of securing Dybenko's release, but they were stopped and disarmed after a struggle at the station of Bologon.

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NYT, March 28, 1918, .

Korniloff's Capture Near:

Cossack Leader, Again Defeated by Reds, Said to be Surrounded.

Moscow, March 24:

The French Ambassador and the members of the other embassies are returning to Russia from Finland and proceeding to Vologda, where the American Ambassador has remained since the general evacuation of the embassies from Petrograd.

The Germans are not having everything their own way in Ukraine. Izvestia, the Bolshevik organ, reports that both Kherson and Nikolayev have been cleared of Germans, the former by a revolt of the inhabitants, and the latter after an artillery bombardment. The action of the Germans in seizing corn is rousing the armed resistance of the peasants. .

The. Ukrainian Assembly of Soviets has agreed to recognize the Rada's peace on condition that the Central Powers do not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine and remove their troops. It is sending representatives to the international Socialist conference, and is prepared to continue the struggle against the "bourgeois robbers" by means of guerrilla warfare, strikes, and the non-payment of taxes. Already there are reports of strikes and other political disorders in towns behind the German lines.

The return of the Rada was accompanied by the first Jewish pogroms since the revolution in Kiev.

Commander Sablin reports further successes of the Soviet troops. General Korniloff has again been defeated and retired into the

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Kaikop, district. His lines of retreat have been cut off and his capture is hourly expected.

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The following, handed in at Moscow on the 14th instant, has only just been received:

"In connection with the unfounded rumors of armed German prisoners in Siberia it is curious to find that the delegates of the German Red Cross, who in Petrograd are arranging for the evacuation of prisoners, particularly asked that those in Siberia should first be allowed to leave because of the danger of their falling into Japanese hands."

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NYT, March 28, 1918, .

Russian View Of Battle:

Soviets Consider It Direct Outcome of Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

Moscow, March 24.

Soviet circles here consider that the battle on the British front is the direct consequence of Germany's attempt to take too much from Russia.

"Germans•." they say, "failed by concessions to be Allies to obtain sanction for the Brest-Litovsk peace. She was faced with the alternative of an immediate general victory or prolonged war.

NYT, March 28, 1918, .

Allied Attitude Rebuked:

Bolshevist Organ Says It Prevents Rapprochement---New Army Plans.

Moscow, March. 23.

M. Kirjentsev, in the Izvestia, says that in the recent relations of the Allies and Russia there has been noticed an extremely original understanding of friendship. "Hitherto only America has found a more suitable tone." Further, "whatever may be the new international relations of Russia it may be said that the Allies, though not sufficiently reckoning with the wishes of the Russian people, are themselves preventing English or French orientation."

A leading article in the same paper refers to the unanimity of the Russian bourgeoisie and pseudo-Liberals in their eagerness to invite foreign help to safe guard their own class interests, and

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compares it with historical invitations to a variety of Scandinavian conquerors with which Russian history begins. "Our land is great and rich but without order. Come you, take it [???] be Princes over us."

The article, after a detailed examination of bourgeois hopes of German or Japanese help in disestablishing the Soviets, says: "If they succeed wholly or partly in carrying out their treacherous plans their triumph will be short-lived. Against them and their protectors will rise the wave of the international Socialist revolution which will sweep them once for all from the earth."

Yesterday Lenine, Trotzky, and others addressed meetings throughout Moscow on the organization of defense. Trotzky said the conditions of peace placed Russia under a continual threat from Germany, Japan, and other Imperialistic countries, therefore it could not be lasting. The immediate task of the revolution was the preparation of armed resistance against internal enemies.

He spoke of concrete methods "in view of the approach of spring and agricultural work." He said:

"General mobilization is impossible. Meanwhile we must limit ourselves to general obligatory instruction in the use of arms and the formation of volunteer detachments as skeleton for the new mass of the army."

Officers and noncoms of the old army will be accepted as instructors. "The officers and Generals," said Trotzky, "were a danger to us while they controlled the mechanism of the State. Now they are powerless to harm or undermine the Soviet."

I do not think Trotzky will have the least difficulty in forming the cadres of the new army. The difficulty will be in obtaining men. In

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this task, however, he will be helped by the Germans, whose open hostility to the Soviets may really end in the creation of a new spirit of resistance in the masses, especially in the manufacturing districts, where thousands will fight for the Soviets, who are more or less indifferent as to Russia's frontiers.

DN. March 29, 1918.

German Rule In Russia.

War Against Soviets.

Raising A New Army.

Moscow, Wednesday.

On the Northern front the Germans are not advancing beyond the established line of demarcation, but they are having increasing trouble behind this line, owing to the resentment of the peasants. Now here, and now there, there is guerrilla fighting. The privileged classes have promised the peasants that since they took away the horses, etc., they shall themselves be yoked to the plow. Punitive expeditions of Germans and the privileged classes are behaving with extreme severity.

The formation of a large fighting Army by the Soviets is impossible until the Germans, by their definite support of the propertied against the poorer classes force similar class consciousness into the peasants. This, however, the Germans seem to be doing, and those returning from behind the enemy lines state that the methods of the German punitive expeditions are awakening such consciousness even among their own soldiers, who in many cases are refusing to obey orders.

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A compromise has been reached in the Dykenko affair. Dykenko has been released on the surety of Kullontat and detachments and his own parole. A similar compromise has been reached with regard to the use of old officers in the new Army. Companies are to elect their commanders, but candidates are to be named by superior officers. They are to be platoon commanders. The list of candidates for platoons are being made by the military sections of the local Soviets. Commanders of units and brigades are appointed by the Commissariat of War through the military Soviet division. Each such appointment is to be approved by the High War Council. Divisional and superior commanders will be appointed by the Commissariat for War in agreement with the High War Council. Each such appointment is to be reported to the Soviet Peoples Commissaries

NYT, 1 April 1918.

Cossack Leader Yields.

Bogaevsky Calls on His Followers to Submit to Bolsheviks,

.

Petrograd. March 29

The Cossack Ataman Bogaevsky has surrendered and recanted. He has issued an appeal to his followers to cease useless guerrilla warfare, which, he says results only in loss of life and terror to the peaceful population, who are unable to work. He says:

“The struggle with the Bolsheviks was a political mistake which caused unnecessary losses to both sides, and was merely harmful to Russia. The Cossack struggle failed because the sympathy of the popular masses was with the Bolsheviks.”

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Of the whole anti-Bolshevist Cossack movement there now remains nothing but a few small bands of cavalry. This struggle in which honest men were made tools of politicians working solely for privileged class interests, has been made hideous by excesses on both sides.

With regard to the events on the western front it is remarkable that the bourgeois papers print the German communiqués in large type, whereas the Socialist papers print the allied communiqués and take a definitely pro-Ally tone.

The Central Executive has passed a decree giving right of asylum in Russia to all political refugees from imperialistic countries. The immediate object of this adoption of the old English tradition is to assist revolutionaries in escaping from provinces occupied by Germany.

DN. April 2, 1918.

Allies & Russia.

Soviet Government Not Yet Recognized.

An Anomalous Position.

Moscow, Sunday.

Further news from Siberia makes it clear that there, as everywhere else in Russia, politicians opposed to the Soviet Government are compelled to seek the aid of foreign troops – a sufficient proof of the fact that these politicians are politically conscious that the bulk of the working classes support the Soviets.

Thus in the Ukraine, while the Rada is supported by German bayonets in Kieff, the Ukrainian Soviet in Kharkoff is not only itself

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putting up what regular resistance it can, but it is getting at least moral support by the actual rising of the population in the German rear. It is confirmed that Kherson and Nikolaeff are again in the hands of the Soviet forces. Odessa has been retaken for the Soviet by sailors of the Black Sea Fleet, which the Ukrainians Soviet ineffectually tried to demobilize.

The Rada, not content with the treachery of summoning German help, is now trying to deprive the fleet of the base by countenancing a Turkish expedition to the Crimea with the nominal aim of "restoring order there." The fleet and Ukrainian Soviet troops will resist this attempt.

In the north it is confirmed from Archangel that the Finnish White Guards moving eastwards are proposing a federation with Finland and the Russian northern provinces with a view to cutting off the northern ports. The position is curious, inasmuch as all our enemies recognize the Soviet Government as their enemy, and we do not recognize it at all. I cannot to strongly urged recognition as a means of strengthening the Soviet Government here and easing the task of cooperation.

NYT. April 3, 1918.

Anti-Red Russians Allies Of Germans:

Plea for Recognition of the Soviet Government by Entente to Foil Them.

Moscow, Sunday, March 31,

Further news from Siberia makes it clear that there, as everywhere else in Russia politicians opposed to the Soviet Government are compelled to seek the aid, of foreign troops--sufficient proof of the

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DN. April 4, 1918.#1

Russia &The War.

A New Stage Now Beginning.

Russia.

Will Petrograd fall or be cut off? Of course, it is impossible to say exactly what is going to happen, but I think the position is roughly this. The Soviet organism is such that damage to a part of it does not damage the whole. It is like a jellyfish, alive all over, and the disappearance of Petrograd will merely mean the formation of a new life center somewhere else. The existence of a Bolshevik State is in itself a danger to Germany. As Hindenburg let out in his speech at Meledernho, Germany has set out to destroy the

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Bolshevik power. Very good. She has set herself to destroy an organism that can be decapitated 100 times over without being destroyed. If the Germans take Petrograd they may destroy the Soviet there, or call a Constituent Assembly to produce a new authority whose ideas are less dangerous to them. That is to say that Petrograd, in one form or other, will become a pro – German center. The result of this will be the formation somewhere or other in Russia of a new center which will oppose Petrograd.

How Britain Can Help.

It would be another to be added to the long list of hideous mistakes in Allied policy towards Russia if they allow that Government to be weakened as the Petrograd Government was weakened politically in its own country by the feeling that it is isolated and alone in facing Germany. I think that at all cost some means should be taken to keep in touch with that Government and to help it by moral and, if possible, by material support. The character of the present Russian organism is such that Germany will have to send to fetch any of the raw materials she may want. Germany will be faced with continual small hostilities, and threatened continually with the spread of revolution behind her vague front.

The action of Germany against the Bolsheviks, the actions of the Bolsheviks, which have now convinced even Russian politicians of opposite parties that the Bolsheviks leaders are not German will help in securing new workers in the Soviet organization. This has been one of the worst of the Bolshevik difficulties; and it has been largely due to the hostile attitude adopted by the Allies towards the Russian Government. The Allies should have watched the Brest negotiations, if they could not join them. If they had observed them they would have realized that the Bolsheviks would have destroyed their position if they had, even for a moment, stopped putting their feet on the table when conversing with Allied

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representatives. Instead, the Allies said: "These people are impossible." and, leaving them alone, kept up the hope in their opponents that they (the Allies) would welcome any change in the Government that meant the substitution of polster persons for these enfants terribles of international diplomacy.

Moving Day.

Only last night I had an illustration of the short – handedness of the Bolsheviks. I spent the night in the Foreign Office helping Pokrovsky to pack the archives. He had no other helpers except a girl secretary and Madame Radek. Imagine the English Foreign Office preparing to evacuate to York, and Lord Robert Cecil having nobody to help him pack the Tate's cases except the wife of an Irish Sinn Feiner and stray Russians who happened to look in. I saw and packed numbers of strange things, including the agreement of 1887 between Russia and Germany for the suppression of Austria, signed by Bismarck and Wilhelm, large packages of documents relating to England and the East, and many other examples of that interesting secret literature which the Bolsheviks ??? to deprive of its power over the lives of workingmen. Pekrovsky is a historian, and it was hard to prevent him from turning over the papers instead of attending to the immediate business of tying the strings of the portfolios and packing them into wooden crates. At the last moment it was found that there were no nails with which to fasten the cases, and no rope.

A new stage in the history of the war between Russia and Germany is beginning. Already, as I thought they would, the Russians have described the Germans very accurately as counter-revolutionaries. They will wage guerrilla warfare against them. They will hamper in every possible way the efforts of the propertied classes in Russia to sell the Germans copper, platinum,

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and other things they need. In that we must help them, by ourselves buying, not from private owners, but from the Government the products which the Germans need for purposes of war. The Government will nationalize these natural resources of Russia, and it should be our business to provide them with credit and a market in exchange for the service they will do for us in diverting them from Germany. No separate peace that does not include the destruction of the power of the Soviets not only in Petrograd, but throughout Russia, will end the hostilities between Russia and Germany. Only propertied Russia will be at peace with propertied Germany. And revolutionary Russia knowing that the combination of these two means its own destruction will leave nothing to keep them apart. It is more than possible that the Germans, embarking on an adventure which seemed to promise huge rewards for insignificant expenditure, will find that more and more men are sucked into it, and that the rewards are further from them the further they advanced.

DN. April 5, 1918.

Russia's Resources.

Vast Possibilities of Western Siberia.

Moscow, Wednesday.

[The following is a continuation of the interview with M. Larin, the economist, on the development of Russian resources which I telegraphed you yesterday.]

"We are developing the Kuznetz Basin, in Western Siberia," said M.Larin. "The productive possibilities are in metal very nearly 5 times those of the Donetz Basin Hitherto the output has been only 50,605,000 poods (about 1,428,000 tons) compared with a million poods (over 1,700,000 tons) from the Donetz Basin. The railway

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system connecting the Kuznets mining area with the Siberian Railway is finished except for just over 100 miles, which will be completed this summer. There is coal in the same district.

The pressure on the railway from Siberia will be eased by the railway Orenburg-Anmklinsk-Semipalatanek, which will also serve capitalist enterprises which have been taken over bodily.

"We are also finishing the railway Ekaterinburg-Kazan which will be connected with the main waterway on which we have already nationalized the ships. Much of this was planned under the old Czar's Government, and we are now carrying out the scheme. We have also made the whole of the Ural district a single national enterprise. The workers are the paid servants of the people."

I asked.[Part of sentence unreadable]

"In the main Soviet, which controls the whole enterprise, the workmen of the district have a minority." Was the answer. "The majority of the votes belong to the representatives of the organizers appointed by the people as a whole through their central organ. This principle of giving the local workmen a minority in the representation obtains throughout the whole of the new organization of industry. Only in this way can the nation ensure that the interests of the local workmen are not preferred to the detriment of the nation as a whole. Each industry has its local committees and its central committee which controls the raw material, finance, and the disposal of the output, thus effectively controlling even private concerns not yet taken over by the State."

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NYT April 5, 1918, .

Russia's Resources To Be Developed:

Capital to Come from Saving on Army and Stoppage of Loan Interest Payments.

To Import Machinery:

State Monopoly of Foreign Trade Planned----Petrograd and Moscow to be Electrified,

Moscow April 3.

I had a long talk with N. Larin, an economist who was the initiator of the annulment of loans and has been steadily at work from the first preparing for a new industrial future for Russia. He [????] the preservation of the War Industry Committee, and it is due to his efforts that the leading organizers and leaders of industry under the old capitalistic régime now enter the service of the Socialist Government in the development of Russia's resources.

These resources, as Larin points out, are so great as in the long run to make the German conquests negligible. Larin is a member and the guiding spirit of the Commission for Foreign Trade. He said:

"We do not know how long the Ukraine will remain separate from Russia now. However, our relations with her will be, we must reckon with the possibility that, owing to German occupation of the Ukraine, we are deprived for some time of all the resources of the Donetz Basin, excepting anthracite deposits in the east, which alone are not in Ukrainian territory. In the long run this is not serious.

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"In the course of the next five years it is hoped to complete works which will make the great industrial centres of Moscow and Petrograd less dependent. on long-distance transport. Petrograd factories are to be electrified, using the waterfall between Lakes Ladoga and Onega and the waterfall on the River Volkhov. The work already has been begun. Moscow will be electrified on the basis of peat fuel from the enormous deposits near the neighborhood.

You ask where we will get the money for these works, many of which were planned under the old Government, but were shelved for lack of funds? We get money for this by the cessation of two kinds of nonproductive expenditures; the milliards which were lent on old army expenses and the payment of interest on foreign loans will now be applied to the improvement of our industrial resources."

"Do you propose, in spite of the annu1ment of loans, to invite foreign capital ? " I asked.

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Larin replied:

"Certainly. But we want it not in money or in manufactured goods, and are willing to pay for it on the spot. For example, we don't want nails, but we want machines with which to make nails ourselves. We want tools, not products, from America, England, Germany or whoever is willing to supply us. We are prepared to pay part in materials and the rest in gold. We propose to deal with foreign countries through a Central Buying Committee, so that there will be a state monopoly of foreign trade."

These are the main facts Larin told me. They are enough to show that Russia has not ceased to exist as a factor in the world.

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America as I have reason to know, has already realized this, and is preparing to deal with Russia on the Russian terms. Germany, of course, will find it advantageous to do the same. If we allow ourselves to be prevented by the Russian annulment of loans, we risk throwing sovereigns after pennies.

NYT, April 6, 1918, .

**Russia Wants Hands Free:
Needs Help from All Sides for Her Recuperation.**

Moscow, April 5.

Russia's foreign policy at present, as outlined to me by persons well qualified to know, is one of free hands. She needs recuperation and is willing to take help from all sides so long as that does not mean tying her hands again. She has in the Soviet organization in the long run a more dangerous one to Germany than any other that could arise here. It is to England's interest and Germany's detriment that the Soviet government should be strengthened.

Negotiations between the Russian Soviet government and the Ukrainian Rada for the establishment of mutual frontiers begins tomorrow. This does not effect the struggle inside the Ukraine between the Rada and the Ukrainian Soviets.

The Rada, seeing the growing hostility to its power among the peasantry, owing to the introduction of German troops, were inclined to try to come to terms with the Soviets, but on the insistence of the German officers decided to continue civil war.

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The events in Ukraine have proved that without the German troops the bourgeoisie Rada could never have imposed itself on the population.

A similar story is being played out in Finland, where the Germans have landed near Hango. If the Finnish Soviets are overthrown, as seems inevitable, the Finnish bourgeoisie government like that of Ukraine will be dependent on Germany.

DN. April 6, 1918.

**Foreign Policy Of Russia.
Soviets and the German Menace.**

Moscow, Friday.

Russia's foreign policy at present, as outlined to me by persons well-qualified to know, is one of "free hands." She needs recuperation, and is willing to take help from all sides, so long as that does not mean tying her hands again. She has in the Soviets an organization, in the long run, more dangerous to Germany than any other that could arise here. It is to England's interest and Germany's detriment that the Soviet Government should be strengthened.

The negotiations between the Russian Soviet Government and the Ukrainian Rada for the establishment of mutual frontiers begins tomorrow. This does not affect the struggle inside the Ukraine between the Rada and the Ukrainian Soviets. The Rada, seeing the growing hostility to its power among the peasantry owing to the introduction of German troops, were inclined to try and come to terms with the Soviets, but on the insistence of the German officers decided to continue civil war. Events in the Ukraine have proved that without the German troops the bourgeois Rada could

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never have imposed itself on the population. A similar story is being played out in Finland, where the Germans have landed near Hango. If the Finnish Soviets are overthrown, as seems inevitable, the Finnish bourgeois Government, like that of the Ukraine, will be dependent on Germany.

NYT, April 9, 1918, .

Soviets Incensed By Japan's Course:

Moscow Hears Vladivostok Consul Would Not Recognize Their Authority.

But Admiral Explains:

Tells Bolshevik Foreign Minister That Landing Was a Local Incident.

Moscow, April 7.

The Soviet authorities at Vladivostok sent representatives to protest against the Japanese landing there. The Japanese Consul, declining to recognize the Soviet authority, refused to receive them, except as private persons. The British Consul received them, but the French Consul refused. The privileged classes at Vladivostok are openly rejoicing in the landing of foreign troops as the beginning of the end of Soviet power.

The Japanese action makes friendly allied co-operation with the Soviet quite impossible, which is the more unfortunate because events at Murmansk—where the Allies in close conjunction with the Soviets are helping the latter to guard the Murmansk railway--had distinctly showed that such co-operation was possible.

The result of Japanese interference at Vladivostok may be to raise difficulties for the Allies at Murmansk, where hitherto the Soviet

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government, recognizing the need of preventing the White Finns from seizing the coast, and thus allowing the Germans, by establishing a submarine base, to prevent all Archangel traffic, has worked in perfect friendliness with the French and British.

The first act of the Japanese at Vladivostok is to proclaim that they do not recognize the Soviet power. If the Allies support Japan in this they will undoubtedly become the enemies of the Soviet Government.

DN. April 9, 1918.

Vladivostok Landing.

Russia's Protest to the Allies.

A Serious Danger.

Moscow, Sunday.

The Soviet authorities at Vladivostok sent representatives to protest against the Japanese landing. The Japanese Consul, declining to recognize the Soviet authority, refused to receive them except as private persons. The English Consul received them, but the French Consul refused. The privileged classes at Vladivostok are openly rejoicing in the landing of foreign troops as the beginning of the end of Soviet power.

The Japanese action makes friendly Allied cooperation with the Soviet quite impossible, which is the more unfortunate because events at Murmansk – where the Allies, in close conjunction with the Soviets, are helping the latter to guard the Murman railway – had distinctly showed that such cooperation was possible. The result of Japanese interference at Vladivostok may be to raise difficulties for the Allies in Murmansk, where hitherto the Soviet Government – recognizing the need of preventing the "White Finns"

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from seizing the coast, which would allow the Germans by establishing a submarine base to prevent all Archangel traffic – has worked in perfect friendliness with the French and British.

An Advantage To Germany.

The first act of the Japanese at Vladivostok is to proclaim that they do not recognize the Soviet power. If the Allies support Japan in this, they will undoubtedly become enemies of the Soviet Government. The further presence of Japanese at Vladivostok will probably encourage the anti– Soviet minorities in Siberia to mutiny, and increase the difficulties in the rear, thus creating disorder an excuse for more interference. Already there are signs of this. This may be profitable for Japan. It is certainly to the advantage of Germany, especially at a moment when steady organization inside the Soviet Republic, both economic and military, was promising a new danger to Germany in the not distant future.

Even the anti– Bolshevik newspapers opposed the Japanese landing, although they are prepared to use it as a ground of agitation against the Bolsheviks. The "Retch" criticizes the Bolsheviks for not being strong enough to prevent a Japanese landing. The "Noveya J??" indirectly calls for resistance to the Allies, and says scornfully, "The Government talks of diplomatic measures. After the agreement of Brest are they going to give us an agreement of Vladivostok?"

Partition East And West.

The Mensheviks newspaper "Letch " foresees and protests against the possibility of an alliance with Germany against Japan. The "Pravda" says, "For me it is clear that the action of the

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Imperialist of the Alliance has a double end. On the one hand to seize as big a lump as possible of Russian territory and on the other to strike a blow at the Soviet authority."

To gauge the full moral effect of what has happened it should be remembered that the Japanese descent synchronizes with the German descent on Hango. The Finnish Anti– German Socialist Government has been forced to evacuate from Helsingfors to Viborg. Within a short time there will be a German supported Anti– Soviet Finnish State within an hour from Petrograd. Unless the Japanese exploit is speedily liquidated, the Soviet will be cut off from the East by a similar foreign supported Anti– Soviet State, in which case nothing can follow except the destruction of the Revolution and the disguised partition of Russia between East and West, for the lasting and not merely temporary advantage of Germany.

NYT, April 10, 1918,.

**Lenine Talks War Against Japan:
Bolshevist Leader Also Hints at Complications with Great Britain
and France.**

**Advantage To Berlin Seen:
Papers Refuse to Consider Disembarkation as Having Any Other
Motive Than Invasion,**

Petrograd, April 8

**I have just been to the Smolny Institute, which is an almost empty
and deserted building a strange contrast to the Smolny Institute**

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when it was the headquarters of the all-Russia Soviets instead of, as now, of the Petrograd commune.

While I was there news came from Helsingfors that the whole story of a German landing at Hango was false. The landing was made by Finnish White Guards in German uniforms.

The German demand that the Russian Baltic ships in Finnish ports be disarmed is based on the absence from the text of the peace agreement of a provision that Russian ships icebound in Finnish ports may stay there until navigation is possible. The crews are being reduced to a minimum, and disarmament is to be concluded by April 11. The parts of the ships' machinery removed are to be brought to Kronstadt.

Guarding the British Consulate.

It is now reported from Vladivostok that the Japanese authorities have received the Soviet representatives and have declared that the landing of troops was undertaken by Admiral Kato on the responsibility of the English. The landing party is posted near the railway station and is guarding the British Consulate. The streets are heavily patrolled by Red Guards, but there have been no conflicts.

In Petrograd Soviet circles it is still believed that the long-expected has happened, and that the Japanese will attempt to seize the Siberian railway.

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DN. April 10. 1918.

Russia & The Allies.

The Vladivostok Landing.

Joint Decision.

Germany And Baltic Fleet.

Petrograd, Monday.

I have just been to the Smolny Institute, which is an almost empty and deserted building – a strange contrast to the Smolny Institute when it was the headquarters of the All – Russian Soviets, instead of, as now, of the Petrograd Commune. While I was there the news came from Helsingfors that the whole story of a German landing at Hango was false. The landing was made by Finnish White Guards in German uniforms.

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An evening paper prints a report on the probable reevaluation of the rouble, basing this on an alleged statement by the Commissary of Finance that "there never was more gold in Russia than now. A hundred roubles will be worth 10, but those 10 are fully guaranteed in gold."

DN April 11, 1918.

Russia's New Dangers.

Lenin on the Landing at Vladivostok.

"We May Have To Fight Again."

Petrograd, Tuesday

Lenin in a speech at Moscow yesterday said: "There are dangers all round us. The Germans are preparing in the south where there are signs of new trouble. The Japanese have landed at Vladivostok, with the English to help them. They surrounded us in a close ring. We are doing our best to postpone the beginning of new horrors, but it is possible all will be in vain, and that we may have to fight again."

A protest has officially been sent to Washington. The Commissary for Foreign Affairs is about to publish secret documents showing that the Japanese action was prepared at the very beginning of the revolution. The Zemstvo of Vladivostok, encouraged by the presence of foreign troops, has demanded that authority be handed over to it, but the Soviet has refused.

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NYT, 19 April 1918,.

Dybenko Missing, Mme. Kollontay Too:

Soviets Send Out Alarm for Navy Commander Who Gave Up Narva to Germans

Atrocities In Finland:

Protest Made to Powers by Reds Against Executions by German Led White Guards.

Moscow, April 17

Former Commissary Dybenko, who was on parole in Moscow until commission of inquiry had finished sifting the evidence of his alleged unnecessary abandonment of Narva to the Germans, has disappeared and with him Mme. Kollontay, who stood surety for him. A proclamation to the Soviets and Soviet troops demanding his instant seizure wherever found is signed not only by Krylenko and a member of the Naval College, but also by two sailors from Dybenko's own detachments, who, it will be remembered, demanded that they be represented on the commission to insure fair treatment of their late commander.

Yesterday the Red Finn leader, Tokoi, brought me a protest against the barbarous behavior of German directed White Guards, who in the Tammerfors district, after capturing a number of Red Guards, killed every Red officer down to company commanders, then took out and shot every fifteenth man of the rank and file--this although the Reds have scrupulously treated every captured White Guard as an honorable prisoner of war

The Red Finns today are sending their protest to representatives of all the powers, asking that the powers shall insist that General Mannerheim's troops treat their captives as prisoners of war and

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release without further maltreatment persons serving the Red Cross, aged folk, and women and children.

They also ask that political refugees from Finland be allowed refuge in other countries, and that the powers will make an official statement that the forces of the Finnish Socialist Republic are not terrorists, but regular troops.

Tokoi, himself a typical Finnish workingman, talks little English, but closely followed the words of his interpreter and corrected him immediately when the interpreter slightly altered the sense of Tokoi's statements. His simple object was to get things accurately stated. He is a revolutionary of quite a different type from the Russian.

Mme. Alexandra Kollontay, reported to have gone with former Commissary of the Navy Dybenko, was the first woman minister of State in the world. She held the portfolio of Public Welfare from November 14, 1917, until March 24, 1918, when she resigned with a number of Left Social Revolutionaries in protest against the Brest Litovsk peace.

This was on the very day that Dybenko was arrested by order of the Commissaires at Moscow. Dispatches at the time said he was accused of having ordered the fleet not to oppose the German occupation of Odessa. On March 27 he was released on bail, his surety, according to the cablegram reporting the fact, being his wife, a detachment of sailors, and his own parole.

Immediately after her resignation Mme. Kollontay started for Western Europe to make a crusade on behalf of international socialism, accompanied by a dozen assistants and several tons of literature. After trying in vain to enter Sweden via Finland and being stopped by the White Guard, the party set sail from

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Helsingfors, in a small ship convoyed by a Russian gunboat. The commander of the gunboat was not in sympathy with Mme. Kollontay's propaganda and is said to have led her vessel into a mine field where he abandoned it.

The party, after drifting about on ice floes and losing all their literature, reached the Aland Islands and later Moscow. On account of her complaint of the treatment she had received at the Aland Islands, the Bolshevist Government decided to deny to Sweden the right to send diplomatic couriers through Russian territory.

Mme. Kollontay is the divorced wife of a Russian general and about 28 years of age. At the time she was made Minister of Public Welfare, the official publicity bureau of the Bolshevist Government, sent out a long notice of her career, which contained this phrase:

"Mme. Kollontay, who is a woman of very attractive appearance, addressed large crowds during her lecture tour of the United States under the auspices of the German Socialist Federation of the Socialist Party."

She left the United States in February, 1917, after a sojourn of several months. She is well known as the author of books chiefly expounding the relation of the state to maternity.

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DN. April 19, 1918.

Protest By Red Guards.

Atrocities by White Gaurds Alleged.

Children Prisoner

Moscow, Wednesday.

Yesterday M. Toko, the Red Finn leader, brought me a protest against the barbarous behavior of the German-directed White Guards, who, in the Tummerfore district, after capturing a number of Red Guards, killed every red officer down to company commanders, and then took out and shot every 15th man of the rank-and-file. This was done although the Reds have scrupulously treated every captured White Guard as an honorable prisoner of war.

The Red Finns are sending their protest to the representatives of all the Powers, asking them to insist that General Mannerheim's troops shall treat their captives as prisoners of war and release without further maltreatment persons serving the Red Cross, aged folk, women, and children. They also asked the political refugees from Finland should be allowed to take refuge in other countries, and that the powers will make an official statement that the forces of the finished Socialist Republic are not terrorist but regular troops.

Tokoi himself is a typical Finnish working man, and speaks but little English. He clearly followed the words of his interpreter, and corrected him immediately when the interpreters slightly altered sense of his statements. His simple object was to get things accurately stated. He is a revolutionary of quite a different type from the Russian, and a good deal nearer our own Labor Party.

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Ex- Commissary Dybenko, who was on parole and forbidden to leave Moscow until the Commission of Inquiry finished shifting the evidence of his alleged unnecessary abandonment of Narva to the Germans, has disappeared, and with him Madame Kolontai, who stood for him. A proclamation to the Soviets and the Soviet troops demanding his instant seizure wherever he is found is signed not only by Krylenko and a member of the Naval College, but also by two sailors from Dybenko's own detachments. These sailors, it will be remembered, demanded to be represented on the Commission to ensure fair treatment of their late commander.

NYT. April 20, 1918.

Finnish Reds Pro-Ally:

Say They Will Succeed Eventually in Their Socialist Aims.

Moscow, April 17.

Asked if in the event of success the Red Finns there was any likelihood of Finland joining the Russian Federation of Soviets, Tokoi, the revolutionary leader, said:

"Certainly, not. We belong to a different civilization. They are Communists, we are Socialists."

Tokoi and his companions are definitely pro-Ally. They agreed in telling me that they believed General Mannerheim was not, himself so pro-German as was the Government in Vasa, of which Svinkhvuud was the head, which was working in direct contact with Berlin. They say that Mannerheim is merely a figurehead. and that the real work of organization of the bourgeois forces in Finland is done by the German General Keller.

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They are convinced that but for German help the White Guards would long ago have ceased resistance, in which case they had hoped to form in Finland a republic something like Switzerland.

DN. April 22, 1918.

**Soviets' Power In Russia.
Growing Strength of the Government.
Vladivostok Danger**

Moscow, Friday.

The steady strengthening of the Soviet Government is illustrated by the weakness of the more recent attempts to raise armed forces against it. Last week's reappearance of anti— Soviet troops near Novocherkask has already been liquidated and the Soviet is in complete control. General Korniloff's newly collected bands, although well armed, disciplined, and equipped, were heavily defeated. Even Semeneff, in spite of external help, was markedly weaker in the last raid than in the preceding. There are rumors that both Semeneff and Korniloff have been killed.

The unfortunate incident of the Japanese landing at Vladivostok, which threatens, more than anything else, to make a friendly understanding between the Allies and Russia difficult, shows signs of ending. The Japanese Consul here had an interview with Karakhan in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs yesterday, in which he complained that the Russian Press had unnecessarily disquieted the population. Karakhan replied that the anxiety of the Russians was entirely natural, seeing that the landing was made without consulting the Russian Government, and that the best means for closing the incident would be the removal of the Japanese troops.

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The hue and cry after the absconding Commissaries, Dybonko and his wife Mme. Kollentot, has resulted in letters of justification being received from both of them. They are now being detained.

The advance of the Turks against Batum, together with other causes, has intensified racial hostilities in the Southern Caucasus. The Baku Mohammeds armed themselves, and a small incident was the signal for a bloody struggle in and about the town, ending temporarily in a compromise – the disarmament of the Mohammedans and the withdrawal from the district of the national Armenian troops.

DN. April 22, 1918 .

**Reports Korniloff And Semenoff Dead:
Moscow Gets Word of the Defeat of Both Generals---Still Agitated
Over Japanese Landing.**

.Moscow, April 19.

The steady strengthening of the Soviet Government is illustrated by the weakness of the more recent attempts to raise armed forces against it. Last week's reappearance of the anti-Soviet troops near Novochoerkask has been already met, and the Soviet is in complete control. General Korniloff's newly collected bands, although well-armed, disciplined, and equipped, were heavily defeated. Even Semenoff, in spite of external help, was markedly weaker in his last raid than in the preceding ones. There are rumors that both Semenoff and Korniloff have been killed.

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NYT, May 2 1918,

**French Envoy Angers Bolsheviki:
Government Resents Interview in Moscow Papers,
Defending Japanese Landing.**

**Noulens Not Recognized:
Foreign Minister Hints at Break with France if Minister's Attitude
is supported.**

Moscow, April 25..

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M. Noulens, the French Ambassador, has given an interview to Moscow newspapers justifying the Japanese landing at Vladivostok as a necessary measure in view of "the state of prolonged anarchy and insecurity in that place." The Ambassador is further quoted as saying, that the German States were trying to bring the whole of Russia under their economic domination, and that with the help of war prisoners they were endeavoring to establish centres for colonization in Siberia.

Questioned concerning this interview, M. Tchitcherin, the Foreign Minister said:

"I am unable to state what steps will be taken by the Government with regard to it." But, speaking for himself, he hoped that the French Government will understand what unfortunate results it will undoubtedly have on Russo-French relations if M. Noulens is supported by his Government in the position he has taken up.

M. Tchitcherin's published statement touches in detail the points of M. Noulens's interview and in particular his remarks about German use of prisoners in Siberia. He points out that an Anglo-American mission has reached Vologda on its return journey from an investigation in Siberia, and that the French Ambassador must have known of it that there is absolutely no truth in the German prisoner nightmare, which is being used by the Germans on one side of Russia, and by the Japanese on the other side as an excuse for interference in Russian internal affairs.

The Pravda says it must be remembered that though M. Noulens is French Ambassador, he is not Ambassador to the Soviet Government, which is the only Government existing in Russia,

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because that Government has not yet recognized him. "He is Ambassador to some future, to some possible Russian Government which shall better suit the refined taste of the French bourgeois," it says. It goes on

"Such occupation of Siberia, cutting it off from European Russia, could

mean the condemnation of the people of the Soviet Republic to death by starvation. Without Siberian bread and other products Russia, deprived of Ukraine, would be doomed to destruction. This the French, Japanese, English and American enemies of the Russian workers' revolution perfectly understand.

DN. May 2, 1918.

Russia And Allies.

French Ambassador and Japanese Landing at Vladivostok.

Moscow, April 25.

In an interview on the French Ambassadors statement M. Tchicherin says: "I am unable to state what steps will be taken by the Government with regard to M. Noulens interview," but speaking for himself he hoped that the French Government would understand what unfortunate results it would undoubtedly have on Russo – French relations if M. Noulens was supported by his Government in the position he had taken up.

M. Tchicherin , in a long published statement, touches in detail on the points of M. Noulens interview, in particular the remarks about the German use of prisoners in Siberia . M. Tchicherin points out that the Anglo – American mission had reached Vologda on the return journey from an investigation in Siberia, and that the French Ambassador must have known that the they ed that there was

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Vladivostok Plots.

Meanwhile, plots multiply. It appears from documents seized that some of the anti— Soviet politicians in Siberia and Peking are a little nervous of Japan, while others are ready to accept the Japanese intervention without Allied control, if only that will once more place them on the shoulders of the laboring classes, who have succeeded in shaking them off. The Japanese are watching, and the Allied admirals and consuls are being consulted by anxious and flattering conspirators, who fill the little stage of Vladivostok and – in this irony – compete with each other in settling the future, not of a Vladivostok dinner party, but of a nation of 150 million workers, and in the long run of democracy itself.

NYT, May 3, 1918, .

**See Allied Intrigue At Vladivostok:
Bolsheviki Made Bitter by Seized Document Said to Reveal Plot There.**

Moscow, April 23.

Yesterday the Pravda, the official organ of the Bolshevik Party, greeted Count Mirbach " not as the representative of the working classes of a friendly nation, but as the plenipotentiary of an armed

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band which with limitless audacity oppresses and robs wherever it is able to thrust in with a bloody imperialistic bayonet."

Today the Pravda has to admit that the "imperialists of the allied coalition are hurrying to show the Russian peasants and workmen that they are in no way to be distinguished from their German competitors."

Yesterday in the Pravda Mirbach held the stage as Russia's enemy. Today he is pushed aside by Noulens, the French Ambassador. M. Noulens had expressed his approval of armed intervention in the East-intervention which should be of a friendly character.

It is difficult to understand how the use of arms against a people can be said to have a friendly character, but that puzzle is explained by documents seized in Vladivostok and published here today, from which it is clear that the allied representatives at Vladivostok are keeping up relations with a small group of persons who wish to become the Siberian Government and are actually in a position exactly like that of the Ukrainian Rada when fleeing from Kiev.

This Rada took refuge in two rooms in the German headquarters at Brest-Litovsk and while being in itself a government "without force, without authority, and without people." signed a treaty which allowed Germany's "friendly intervention" in Ukraine.

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DN. May 6, 1918.

**German Coup In Ukraine.
Berlin Story of Plot of Assassination.
Growing Unrest.**

Moscow, Saturday.

The net result of German action in the Ukraine is to confirm the anti-Germanism of the bulk of the population, and to ensure that that population will look not to its own bourgeoisie for salvation but to Russia. The Germans have camped in a hornets nest, and the more they seize the bigger will be the area of revolutionary discontent within Germany's military frontiers. The more troops they will have to use the more unpopular they will become and the more certain the eventual unity of the Russian and Ukrainian democracies.

DN. May 7, 1918.

**Germans And Rada.
Arrest of Ministers: Revolt of the Peasants.**

Moscow, Saturday.

So strong is the revolt against German domination in the Ukraine that after recent happenings, the Rada found itself losing the support even of the better class bourgeoisie. The anti-German feeling has shown itself in the difficulties of corn collection. Even now Austria is unable to raise her bread allowance. In 1000 exploits small bands of revolutionaries, sometimes are able even to seize and make away with whole trains of food already on the way to Germany, by a series of sporadic peasant risings have

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made it unsafe for the Germans to move except inconsiderable companies. There have also been many arrests by various associations of persons prominent in helping the Germans.

On April 26 General Eichhorn issued an order forbidding meetings, the threatening newspapers, and promising offenders the "justice" of the German Courts-martial. This was too much even for the subservient Rada, who were not consulted. On April 28, during this setting of the Rada, after a stormy discussion, it was found that the Germans had surrounded the building and none were allowed to leave. A German lieutenant walked up to the Praesidium. German troops filed into the hall. German lieutenants shouted "Hands up and sit still! They then called the names of certain Ministers. One answered, and was immediately arrested

NYT, May 7, 1918, .

**Risings Of Peasants Harass The Germans:
Hostile Sentiment Shown in Exploits of Revolutionaries Who Seize
Trains of Food.**

Moscow, May 4.

The Rada in Ukraine that has been ousted found itself losing the support even of the better bourgeoisie. The anti-German feeling in Ukraine showed itself in the difficulties of collecting grain, (even now Austria is unable to raise the bread allowance,) in a thousand exploits of small bands of revolutionaries who sometimes were able even to seize and make away with whole trains of food already on the way to Germany, in an endless series of sporadic peasant risings which made it unsafe for the Germans to move except in considerable companies, and in arrests by various associations of persons prominent in helping the Germans.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

On April 26 General Eichhorn issued an order forbidding meetings, threatening the newspapers and promising offenders the justice of German courts martial. This was too much even for the subservient Rada, who were not consulted. April 28, during a sitting of the Rada, after a stormy discussion of the incident it was found that the Germans had surrounded the building and that nobody was allowed to leave it. A German Lieutenant walked up to the praesidium. German troops filed into the hall. A German Lieutenant shouted " Hands up!" and "Sit still!" Then he called the names of certain Ministers. One answered and was immediately arrested. reports agree that he was the War Minister and was accused of being concerned in peasant risings.

A conference of landowners and rich peasants sitting in Kiev was summoned by a conservative peasant Kovalenko, a member of the first Duma. This conference declared its sittings permanent, and turned out those of its elements with left sympathies, who were instantly arrested by the Germans. This body is definitely reactionary. It is likely to meet even more hostility than the Rada among the poorer peasantry, and the working classes of the towns are necessarily against it. .

The net result of all this is to confirm the anti-Germanism of the bulk of the Ukrainian population and to insure that that population will look not to its own bourgeoisie for salvation, but to Russia. The Germans have camped in a hornets nest, and the more they seize the bigger will be the area of revolutionary discontent within Germany's military frontiers, the more troops they will have to use, the more unpopular they will become, and the more certain the eventual unity of the Russian and Ukrainian democracies.

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NYT, May 9, 1918,

Ukraine's New Ministry:

Not a Ukrainian In It---Members All Russian Octobrists.

Moscow, May 7.

The fate not only of Ukraine but also of Russia depends on the allied decision during the next few days. The events in Ukraine have whirled to a startling climax, which amounts to a declaration of German plans for dealing with the whole of Russia. President Golubovitch, in the Bourgeois Rada lately, said the German Government did not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine and. that General Eichhorn's proclamations would not be upheld by Berlin. A general protest was made against Eichhorn, with a demand for his withdrawal. It is pointed out that Ukrainian regiments have been disarmed. This was defended by the Rada Ministers. The next day the Rada was held up by Germans, the Deputies disarmed, and the Ministers arrested.

The day after a manifesto of the new Government was issued in Kiev by the self-appointed Hetman of Ukraine, Pavlo Skoropauski. He is a Russian Octobrist and a member of the first Duma. He begins his proclamation with expressions of profuse gratitude to the Germans, and proceeds to declare himself to all intents and purposes absolute monarch, with the right to appoint and dismiss Ministers, forgive offenses, &C. All power, at least temporarily, is in his hands, though he promises that presently a Ukrainian Diet will be elected as the legislative body.

His first Cabinet Ministers are the following: Premier and Foreign Minister, Ustrimovitch; Internal Affairs Prince Golutze; War Minister, Prince Vasialsky; Finance Minister, Kjenetzky;

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Communications, Putilin; Education, Sokolov. There is not one Ukrainian name. This is a great Russian Octobrist Ministry and as such is an invitation to the propertied and privileged classes of Russia.

DN. May 10, 1918.

**German Power In The Ukraine.
Increasing Difficulties by Eastern Policy.**

Moscow, Thursday.

The German General Grener, replying to the representatives of various Socialist parties who protested, said there could be no question of the restoration of the Rada. Hetman Skoropadsky was recognized by the German authorities and would remain. Further, Grener said, it was a mistake to see the reestablishment of the Monarchic principle. Many arrests have been made among persons connected with the Rada.

It is curious to notice that Skoropadsky as lately as 1911 publicly declared that the Ukrainian Separatist movement was the fruit of Austrian intrigue. Since then he, like other politicians of the Right, have shown that they prefer Germany to the revolution.

An evening paper prints from a strange interview with Nicolai Guchkov, ex-Mayor of Moscow, from which it seems that Guchkov is very well informed about the plans of the Ukranian reactionaries. He says "According to my information Skoropadsky , before the beginning of the negotiations with Great Russia, will invite representatives to change the present Government, meaning thereby probably not merely change of persons but of the general political coloring of the Ministry.

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Should this be so it will be yet another proof that the interest of the Allies coincide with those of the Soviet Government. The official «Ivestia» says: "Each new act of the German Government in connection with Russia merely deepens the gulf between Germany and her Eastern neighbors. The German military party is preparing for itself irreconcilable enemies in the East and not making friends in the West.

I believe that is absolutely true, and that Germany, step-by-step, is increasing her own difficulties in the Ukraine. The bourgeois Rada, for example, had guaranteed by the peace agreement to supply 30 million poods of corn to the Central Powers before May 1. Owing to the passive and sometimes active resistance of the peasants they succeeded in only supplying three million.

DN. May 11, 1918.

Ukraine Position.

Ex-Empress Dowager Said to be in Kieff.

Moscow, Thursday.

The correspondent of the "Ranner Utro" in Kieff says that ex-Grand Duke Dimitri Pavlovitch took an active part in the coup d'état in the Ukraine, and that Maria Fedorovna (mother of the ex-Czar) has arrived in Kieff. Skoropadsky, whom the Germans made Hetman, was one of her pages.

Lists of the Ministers of the Cabinet of the autocratic Hetman of the Ukraine differ in detail from the list telegraphed on Tuesday, but the main characteristic of all is the same. It is a Cabinet committed to a Germanophil policy. The Germans promise to give all possible support to Skoropadsky against the revolts which they evidently consider probable.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Popular discontent is making itself felt. Cadet Vasilenko, who formed the final Cabinet, tries to suggest that Skoropadsky favors reform. This, however, is laughable, since he adds that the reforms are to be carried out in accordance with the Hetman's manifesto which restores the land to the landowners.

NYT, May 11, 1918,

**Russian Royalties Are Now At Kiel:
Former Dowager Empress Marie and Grand Duke Dmitri in
Ukrainian Capital.**

**Dictator Was Her Page:
Grand Duke Said to Have Taken an Active Part in the Recent Coup
d'État**

Moscow, May 9.

The German General Grener, replying to representatives of various Socialist parties in Ukraine who protested, said there could be no question of the restoration of the Rada. Hetman Skoropadski was recognized by the German authorities and would remain. Further, Grener said, it was a mistake to see in this the re-establishment of the monarchic principle.

Arrests have been made among persons connected with the Rada.

The correspondent of a paper in Kiev says former Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovitch took an active part in the coup d'état, and that the former Dowager' Empress Marie Feodorovna , has arrived at Kiev. Skoropadski was one of her pages. It is curious to note that

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Skoropadski as late as 1911 publicly declared that the Ukrainian separatist movement was the fruit of Austrian intrigue. Since then he and other politicians of the Right have shown that they prefer Germany to revolution.

An evening paper prints a strange interview with Nicolai Guchkov, ex-Mayor of Moscow, from which it seems that Guchkov is very well informed about the plans of the Ukraine reactionaries. He says:

"According to my information, Skoropadski, before the beginning of the negotiations with Great Russia, will invite her representatives to change the present Government, meaning thereby probably not merely a change of persons but of the general political coloring of the Ministry."

Should this be so, it will be yet another proof that the interests of the Allies coincide with those of the Soviet Government. The official Izvestia, says:

"Each new act of the German Government in connection with Russia merely deepens the gulf between Germany and her eastern neighbors. The German military party is preparing for itself irreconcilable enemies in the east and is not making friends in the west."

I believe that is absolutely true, and that Germany, step-by-step, is increasing her own difficulties in Ukraine.. The bourgeois Rada, for example, had guaranteed by the peace agreement to supply 30,000,00 goods of corn to the Central Powers before May 1.owing to the passive and sometimes active resistance of the peasants they succeeded in only supplying 3,000,000. That is to say, that for the betrayal of the Russian revolution the German people so far have received less than 1 pound of flour all round.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Later lists of the Ministers of the Cabinet of the autocratic Hetman differ in detail from the list cabled Tuesday, but the main characteristic of all lists is the same. It is a cabinet of Cadets and members of political groups even further Right. It is committed to a Germanophile policy.

The German declaration admits that the Rada had no base of popular support and no authority, since it was unable to free the banker Dobry, who was arrested by an anti-German society, The Germans promise to give all possible support to Skoropadski against revolts, which they evidently consider probable.

A Socialist paper, which was issued uncensored and immediately suppressed, contains report of a sitting of the Town Council of Kiev which passed a resolution declaring that the proclamation of Skoropadski, the Hetman, did not represent the will of the people and was an infraction of the basic principles of democracy. The only pretense of an election of Skoropadski was a resolution of the Assembly of Agriculturists summoned by the reactionary peasant Vovalenko, and representing only the richer agricultural population.

The Cadet Vasilenko, who formed the final Cabinet, tries to suggest that Skoropadski favors reform and a Government of Left tendencies. This, however, is laughable, since he adds that the reforms to be carried out are in accordance with the Hetman's manifesto which, as cabled, restores the land to the landowners. At the same time a declaration is being prepared to show that the Hetman's autocratic bark is worse than his democratic bite, and that he is content to be merely a kind of President until the meeting of the Diet.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

DN. May 16, 1918.

Kremlin Beflagged.

Banners of the Revolution in Moscow at May Day Parade.

Moscow, Wednesday.

The first of May celebrations in Moscow were of a different character from those of last year. Then the red banners of the working classes seemed triumphant, but at the very time when they waved in the streets of Petrograd Miliukoff was sending his Note to the Allies which proved very sufficiently that power was only nominally in the hands of the working classes. The Government than still belongs to the bourgeoisie, who looked from their windows and said they were sick of red flags.

This year the opponents of the Soviet criticized the Red May Day, saying it had become a mere official ceremony. This is indeed true, because this year the working classes in Russia are themselves their Government, and, as Stekloff points out, the hope of every May Day in the past has been that someday it should be the official ceremony of the ruling class instead of the protest of subjected Labor.

In spite of the gloomy foreboding's, the day passed in perfect order, not a shot being fired. The whole town was with red flags, the walls of the Kremlin being hung with red banners, and the ancient towers garland in scarlet. In spite of the efforts of the Church to prevent the celebration in Holy Week (hundreds of sermons were preached against it on Sunday), in spite of the general consciousness of the tragic seriousness of the moment, the streets were full of people, and the demonstrations showed real faith both in the present and the future.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Between fifteen and twenty thousand troops of the new Army, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, took part in the parade and showed better disciplined and better kept horses and guns than any troops since the revolution. Count Mirbach must have been delighted to see a company of German and Austrian prisoners, who, sworn to support the Soviet, were marching past with revolutionary banners with Germany inscriptions.

NYT, May 17, 1918,

Russian May Day Quiet:

Austrian Prisoners Who Have Joined Bolsheviki Parade at Moscow.

Moscow, May 15, (Wednesday.)

The first of May (May 14 in our calendar,) celebrations in Moscow were of a different character to those of last year. Then the red banners of the working classes seemed triumphant, but at the very time when they waved in the streets of Petrograd, Milukoff was sending his note to the Allies which proved very sufficiently that the power was only nominally in the hands of the working classes. The Government then still belonged to the bourgeoisie, who looked from their windows and said they were sick of red flags.

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DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

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Count Mirbach must have been delighted to see that a company of German and Austrian prisoners who swore to support the Soviet were marching past with revolutionary banners with German inscriptions.

NYT, May 20, 1918, .

**Russia Must Take Breath:
Recuperation Necessary Before She Can Organize a New Army.**

London, May 20.

[From a series of belated telegrams from Arthur Ransoms in Moscow some of them dating back to April 23 the following is extracted:]

" Trotzky, in the evening of April 22, made a report to the Central Executive Committee on the subject of the new Russian Army, He

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faced the dangerous criticism of those who oppose the employment of officers, &c., of the old army, who, he said, were in the same category as the guns, shells, telegraphs, and other material possessions which must be taken over. They represented knowledge and experience which are just as valuable as powder and must be used, like powder, with proper precautions.

“Conscription, though now impossible, would eventually be necessary. For eight weeks in the year workers of military age must give up twelve hours weekly for training, after which, in case of necessity, they must be ready to be called to the colors.

Trotsky's reference to the need that volunteers should definitely bind themselves to serve for at least six months best illustrates the character of the difficulties ahead. If the Soviet is hurried or tricked into war prematurely, the new army will be destroyed before it is created.

“Lenine's views on the tasks of the moment, as explained in a speech to the Central Executive and in an article in the Svesza, may briefly be summarized as follows: He recognizes the instability of the present peace and admits that the ‘social revolution in other countries hangs fire.’ Russia must put her whole strength into using her breathing space to cure the wounds of war and for an economic revival, without which an increase of her defensive power is unthinkable. The immediate task is not to continue the expropriation of capital, but to prove that the working classes can make good use of what they have already taken. This is not a stoppage of the revolution but a definite stage on the way to a more complete victory.”

“Exasperation at the continued advance of the Germans beyond the Ukraine positions is growing. German assistance in Finland now also definitely directed against the Soviet régime, General

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Mannerheim, commander of the White Guards, has issued a proclamation, in the course of which he bluntly declares that at the 'request of the Finnish Government detachments of victorious and powerful Germany landed in Finland in order to help us drive out the Bolshevist scoundrels.' He further expresses the hope that the new brotherhood of arms may strengthen Finland's long-standing friendship for Germany.

"Circumstances like these are calculated to make the Russians desire help from the allies against Germany. In fact, the time is rapidly coming when the Soviet Government will have to choose as to whose help it would accept. It is therefore most unfortunate that the Allies should be doing their best to insure that it should not accept help from them.

"As an illustration of this deplorable state of affairs it may be mentioned that the Chinese are reported to give as a reason for not putting a stop to the raiding activities of the Cossack officer Semenoff the fact that the Allies have not recognized the Soviet régime in Russia, and that the Chinese authorities therefore have no reason for believing Semenoff is representing any other but the official Government of Russia as recognized by the Allies."

DN. May 21, 1918.

Russia's New Army.

Trotsky's Demands on Working Classes.

[From a series of belated telegrams from Mr. Ransome, our Special Correspondent in Russia, some of them dating back to April 23, we extract the following;]

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Moscow.

M. Trotsky, in the evening of April 22, made a speech to the Central Executive Committee on the subject of the new Russian Army. He faced the dangerous criticism of those who oppose the employment of officers, etc., of the old Army. These men, he said, were in the same category as the guns, shelves, telegraphs, and other material possessions which must be taken over. They represented knowledge and experience which was just as valuable as powder, and must be used, like powder, with proper precautions.

Conscription Coming.

Conscription, though now impossible, would eventually be necessary. For eight weeks in the year the workers of military age must give up 12 hours weekly for training, after which, in case of necessity, they must be ready to be called to the colors.

M. Trotsky's reference to the need that volunteers should definitely bind themselves to serve for at least six months best illustrates the character of the difficulties ahead. If this Soviet is hurried or tricked into war prematurely the new Army will be destroyed before it is created.

Every week of comparative peace is so much gain in strengthening the only Russia which, by its nature, is the predestined enemy of German Imperialism, unless, by the malice of fortune or the mistaken policy of Russia's friends, it is murdered instead of being supported.

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How Korniloff Died.

A correspondent to the "Pravda" gives the following details of the death of General Korniloff. "On April 18 Korniloff was defeated with the loss of 445 killed and 800 wounded. The Caucasian Highlanders, hired to fight for Korniloff, were thrown back by the Soviet troops. Korniloff ordered them again to attack but they refused. Korniloff flamed up, called the men traitors, and was off to attack himself, when he was killed by two Highlanders.

This scene shocked the resolution of the remaining troops, and M. Philonenko, who, it will be remembered, was one of Korniloff's backers in the original adventure last year, was also killed by a shell fragment. Thus a coordinated series of insurrections against the Soviet Government is crumbling to failure, and serves as a proof of what has long been obvious, except to those who are willfully blind, viz., that no party in Russia commands a force capable of making headway against the Soviet regime.

NYT, May 23, 1918,

**Lenine Sees Russia On Verge Of War:
Tells Bolshevik Executive Council to Prepare to Defend "The
World's Socialism."**

Moscow, (of Unknown Date.)

The report which Lenine made last night to the Central Executive Committee is a clear statement of the Soviet policy. For Russia the question of war or peace hangs on a hair, both in the west and in the east.

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"The situation," said Lenine, "is that stormy waves of imperialistic reaction, which seem ready any moment to drown the little island of the Socialist Soviet Republic, are broken one against another."

He referred particularly to the struggle between England and Germany, and then to the economic rivalry between America and Japan. The attack on the Soviet, which began by the Japanese landing at Vladivostok, had, he said, been stopped, lest it should turn the hidden conflict between Japan and America, into open war: but "tomorrow the American bourgeoisie may come to terms with the Japanese bourgeoisie and the English bourgeoisie with the German, for all have a common interest in dividing up the globe."

Lenine referred with amusement to the bourgeoisie of Russia.

"Only recently," he said. " they denounced as traitors those who opened the eyes of the popular masses to the existence of the imperialistic war, and now they are themselves ready, in the course of a few weeks, to change their political faith, and from an alliance with English bandits to turn over to an alliance with German bandits against the power of the Soviet."

He alluded in detail to various danger points from which war might be brought upon Russia, before she was ready. Lenine next spoke of the Ukraine and the possibility that Skoropadsky might have other frontiers in view than those which satisfied the Rada. Here, too, is an imminent possibility of war, and the same is true of the Caucasus Government, which has declared its independence but not defined its frontiers, thereby opening the way for the Turks and Germans.

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"Of course," he said, " the Caucasian Rada is independent of the Soviet Republic, but it is not so independent of the German imperialism."

Finally, at any moment, the extreme military party in either of the imperialistic groups might have its way and find an excuse for an attack on the Soviets.

"We shall do all the little we can, all that diplomacy can do, to put off that moment."

With every week of breathing time the Soviet power was gaining strength for the final struggle.

We are the party of defense," said Lenine, [this name was given to the party that considered war necessary.] " and since Oct. 25 we have won the right to defend our fatherland, we shall defend, not the secret agreements which we have published to the world ; we shall defend not a. 'Great Power,' for there is nothing of Russia left but Great Russia, and not national interests, because for us the interests of the world's socialism stand higher than national interests. We stand for the defense of the socialistic fatherland."

For that, he concluded, it was necessary to have an army, which would be forthcoming when the peasant soldiers who returned home realized they now had something to defend.

The debate that followed illustrated the impractical and purely political nature of the opposition, which, while urging immediate war, implicitly recognized that immediate war could only end in immediate failure.

Joffe's telegrams from Berlin show the Germans are ready to go a considerable way in concession; but even at this late hour, I

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believe, if we show an understanding of the Soviet point of view and do not try to bring the Russians vainly and prematurely into war, we can do much to prevent, or at least postpone, that German domination which will be the immediate result of any kind of intervention not regularized by a recognition of the Soviet Government.

DN. May 24, 1918.

Development Of Siberia.

Plans of the Soviet Government.

Need For Machinery.

Moscow, May 16 (Delayed).

Important schemes are in hand for the development of the great natural resources of Siberia. Transport is at present a matter of some difficulty, and a further hindrance is the lack of money tokens for the payment of workers. Still solid progress is being made. The nationalization of certain undertakings has been so far successful that the local Soviet Government is ready to nationalize others, and is only waiting instructions from the Central Government. 45,000 hands are actually working on the construction of the Southern Siberian Railway. Siberia will be able fully to supply Russia with coal and coke.

The main task before the Soviets is to increase the manufacturing industry. It is proposed to establish a number of steel foundries and engineering works, for which are needed engineers, chemist and specialist of all kinds, and also labor, of which there is a marked shortage. It is also intended to establish polytechnics and to widen the activities of the already existing Tomak Technological Institute.

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A Hopeful Impression.

The immediate need is machines. Siberia now possesses great stores of wood, furs, wool, rye, butter, and an accumulated stock of about two million gallons of spirit, all of which products will be exchanged only for machines and other things needed for industrial development. America is making propositions, in reply to which the Siberian Soviet will be guided exclusively by directions from the Center. The general impression is hopeful, if only this young democracy is not to be crushed from without. It can deal with its internal enemies easily enough, and would long ago have crushed them finally if they had not had Allied support.

Today's Siberian telegrams report that the Irkutsk-Vladivostok railway is out of danger. The rumor that Colonel Semenov had occupied Chita is false. Semenov's bands were driven back.

The «Isvestia» prints a valuable statement from Voevodin, President of the People's Economic Council in Siberia, as to the present position of the Soviet Government of Siberia. The strength of the revolutionary movement in Siberia owes much to the presence of political exiles. Owing to their distribution in penitentiary barracks within a few days of the revolution over 70,000 Siberian troops are already on the side of the people.

Landowner Peasants.

At the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution the Government of Altai was alone in opposing the establishment of the Soviet, the reason being that the Altai Government was mainly populated by the richer landowning peasants. The old organs of local government in opposing the Soviets attempted to prevent the corn export, even going so far as buying up and holding. This, however,

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broke down under the pressure of the population, which definitely supports the Soviets.

Voevodin believes the counter – revolutionary movements in Siberia are all imported from outside. The counter – revolutionaries have the closest connection with those who desire the counter – revolution in European Russia, and work in Siberia only because they believe wrongly that they have a better chance there, or because they have the advantage of being able to shelter when necessary across the frontier.

Voevodin says the economic situation in Siberia is good. There is a magnificent harvest, but owing to lack of money, paper, or metal there is great difficulty in securing the Siberian supplies for Russia.

NYT, May 25, 1918.

Bolsheviki Plan Great Manufactures:

45,000 Men Said to be Busy Building Up the Southern Siberian Railroad.

Moscow, May 16.

Important schemes are in hand for the development of the great natural resources of Siberia. Transport is at present a matter of some difficulty, and a further hindrance is the lack of money tokens for the payment of workers. Still, solid progress is being made.

The nationalization of certain undertakings has been so far successful that the local Soviet Government is ready to nationalize others and is only awaiting instructions from the Central Government. Forty-five thousand hands are actually

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

working on the construction of the Southern Siberian Railway. Siberia will be able fully to supply Russia with coal and coke. The main task before the Soviets is to increase the manufacturing industry. It is proposed to establish a number of steel foundries and engineering works, for which are needed engineers, chemists, and specialists of all kinds, and also labor, of which there is a marked shortage. It is also intended to establish polytechnics and to widen the activities of the already existing Tomsk Technological Institute.

There is immediate need of machines. Siberia now possesses great stores of wool, furs, wood, rye, butter, and an accumulated stock of about 2,000,000 gallons of alcohol, all of which products will be exchanged only for machines and other things needed for industrial development.

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Today's Siberian telegrams report that the Irkutsk-Vladivostok railway is out of danger. The rumor that Colonel Semenoff had occupied Chita is false. Semenoff's bands were driven back from Mogutat.

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DN May 25, 1918.

Soviets New Army.

Suppressing Counter – Revolution in Siberia.

Moscow, May 16 (delayed).

The latest news from Siberia is that the Irkutsk-Vladivostok Railway is clear, and that the forces of Colonel Semenoff the Cossack leader, are held in check. The newly – formed troops of the Soviets Army, infantry and Cossacks, have had a complete success. One of Semenoff's bands sent in the direction of Troitzkosavsk has been disposed of by them, and the rank-and-file are either surrendering their arms or joining the Soviet troops.

In the Orenburg district, another nest of counter – revolutionary activity connected with the rebellion of Semenoff, the situation has also been successfully dealt with, and the traffic on the Orenburg –Samara Railway has been resumed. As the Soviet report says: "No foreign intervention for us! We are convinced that we shall destroy every one of these counter – revolutionary bands."

NYT, May 26, 1918,

Germans Stirring Hatred In Russia:

Masses Showing Growing Resentment of Their Treatment Under Peace Conditions.

Ukraine In A Ferment:

Still Necessary to Keep Large German Forces There. Soviets Declared to be Strongly Anti-German.

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Moscow, May 2

There are two marked tendencies in Eastern Europe. The masses are becoming more definitely anti-German, while the privileged classes are looking more and more eagerly to Germany to save them from the masses. Thus no amount of words from individual Cadets will alter the fact that the Cadet Party in the Ukraine is providing active assistance to the German-appointed bread collector, the Hetman Skoropausky, or, an even more significant fact, that the leading cadets in Moscow had a consultation with Count Mirbach. Class interest, as could long ago have been foreseen, has overruled all others. The following words were used by a Cadet who only a month ago was the loudest supporter of the Allies:

"The Hetman Skoropausky, is getting to be well liked. He is strong and honest and is putting things back on a firm basis. We need something like that in Russia."

To the objection that the Hetman was pro-German and supported by Germans, he replied:

"No matter. He may be a German, may be a German-Russian, or may be a Russian patriot so long as he will restore our rights and property."

If the Germans come they undoubtedly will find a welcome from the very classes, the very parties which we politely suppose to be pro-English. The only definitely anti-German force in Russia, is that of the Soviets. Class interests just as inevitably make the Soviets anti-German as they make the bourgeois pro-German. This is not a question of sympathy but of logic. The Germans every day provide fresh fuel to the fire of

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anti-German hatred, which is burning as red as the revolutionary flag that waves over the Russian Embassy in Berlin. The Germans' action in the Ukraine, while pleasing to a few, is setting the many violently against them.

It is some small satisfaction to us to see that the Germans make the same mistakes as the Allies in overestimating the value and strength of the privileged classes. Thus the appointment of the Hetman in Kiev has increased instead of decreased German difficulties. The Germans conquered the Ukraine with the help of the Ukrainians and Haidamaks who supported the bourgeoisie Rada. They had to use just over 500,000 men. Now they are forced to disarm the Ukrainian troops because of their newly reared hatred of the Germans. They bribed the privileged classes by announcing through the Hetman the restoration of land and other property, and the result is that without Ukrainian support the Germans have now to take from the nation of peasants the land which the peasants will not voluntarily surrender. From all parts of the occupied territory come fresh tales of resentment against the German strictness and greed.

A small thing, but one that well illustrates the way in which the Germans exasperate the peasantry, is the general registration of hens. For every hen her owner is to produce three eggs weekly. Any hen that dies must be brought in to satisfy the German commandant that it no longer is able to lay eggs.

Thousands of similar stories are told, and every day peasant risings, now here, now there, are causing perpetual conflict riot only between the Germans and peasants but also between the Germans and the classes they have appointed to rule.

Polish legionaries and the Germans are fighting pitched battles, 15,000 on each side. All this tends to increase the number of

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

forces needed by the Germans in the east. The Allies should realize that peace with revolution keeps many German troops permanently employed. Revolution and the Soviet power in Russia are still an important factor in the war. Non-recognition definitely weakens that factor.

NYT, May 26, 1918.

Soviets Report Successes:

Announce the Surrender of One of Semenov's Siberian Bands.

Moscow, May 16. (Delayed.)

The latest news from Siberia is that the Irkutsk-Vladivostok Railway is clear and that the forces of Colonel Semenov, the Cossack leader, are held in check by the newly formed troops of the Soviets. Infantry and Cossacks of these forces are said to have had complete success. One of Semenov's bands sent in the direction of Troitzkoyavsk, has been disposed of by them, the rank and file either surrendering their arms or joining the Soviet troops.

In the Orenburg district, another centre of counter-revolutionary activity connected with the Semenov movement, the Bolshevik authorities satisfactory developments, traffic on the Orenburg-Samara Railway having been resumed. The Soviet official statement says: "No foreign intervention for us. We are convinced that we shall destroy every one of these counter-revolutionary bands."

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NYT, May 27, 1918:

Lenine's Currency Scheme:

Denial That Immediate Devaluation of the Ruble Is Planned.

Moscow, May 22.

Much rubbish appears to have been cabled to America based on Lenine's speech on the subject of forthcoming financial measures. I can definitely say there is no project for the immediate devaluation of the ruble. As to the so-called exchange of new money for old, Lenine's real proposal is that up to a certain amount its possessors should receive new money, the surplus above that amount being opened as an account in the State bank, and that a check book should be given to its possessor. A postal savings bank on the English model is to be introduced.

The Germans in Ukraine are carrying out local devaluation of the ruble, buying Russian rubles at the rate of two Russian for one ruble in the currency of the occupied territory. With these Russian rubles they will then seek to do business with Russia. Lenine's scheme would put a limit to the possibilities of this piece of ingenuity and also to the steady importation of old time ruble notes forged in Germany.

DN. May 27, 1918.

Starvation As A Weapon.

Its Use by the Russian Reactionaries.

Buried Supplies.

Moscow, May 19.

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Two marked tendencies are becoming manifest in Eastern Europe. The masses are becoming more and more definitely anti— German, while the privileged classes are looking more and more eagerly to Germany to save them from the masses. Thus no amount of words from individual Cadets will alter the fact that the Cadet Party in the Ukraine are actively assisting the German – appointed bread collector, the Hetman Skoropadsky, or even the more significant fact that leading Cadets in Moscow have had consultations with Count Mirbach. If the Germans come they will undoubtedly find a welcome from the very classes and parties which we politely suppose to be pro— British; the only definitely anti— German force in Russia is that of the Soviets.

Exasperated Peasants.

This is a question, not of sympathy, but of logic. The Germans every day provide the Soviets with fresh fuel for the fire of anti— German hatred, which is burning as red as the revolutionary flag that waves over the Russian Embassy in Berlin. One small thing which well illustrates the way in which the Germans exasperate the peasantry is the general registration of hens. For every hen the owner has to produce three eggs weekly, and any hen that dies must be actually produced to satisfy the German commandant that it is no longer able to lay. Thousands of similar stories might be told, and every day there are peasant risings, now here, now there are, causing perpetual conflict not only between the Germans and the peasantry, but also between the Germans and the classes they have appointed to rule.

All this tends to increase the number of forces needed by the Germans in the East, and the Allies should realize that peace with the Revolution keeps many German troops permanently employed.

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Meanwhile the Soviets perfectly realize that nothing but bread will prevent the stomach of the population destroying its brains, than which nothing better could be desired by the privileged classes.

Events at Pavlovsk and other places where hunger riots have been skillfully directed against the Soviets, have so far been speedily liquidated by the politically conscious elements of the working classes, who fully realize what kind of reaction is threatened by them, but the Church and counter – revolutionaries of all kinds are losing no opportunity of using starvation for their own purposes.

In this they are helped by the fact that the Soviet centers are naturally in the industrial districts and towns, where the position is far worse than in the country. This is due partially to transport difficulties, and partially to the unwillingness of the peasants to give up their supplies. In some districts, for instance, Tsaritsin, big supplies of bread from the harvest of 1915, 1916, and 1917 have been buried for fear of requisition, sometimes in cement – lined pits, sometimes in pits lined with straw and covered in with grass, which has actually been sown in order to hide what has been done. While flour in the villages round Voronezh can be bought at from 40 to 50 roubles per pood : the price is 130 roubles in Voronezh itself, 150 roubles in Nijnti, and 280 in Moscow. In Petrograd black flour, which in the Voronezh district is 15 roubles per pood, fetches 350 to 450 roubles.

The Soviet Essential.

Only the continuance of the Soviets and the gradual awakening of public consciousness will educate the peasants, who are the chief obstacle to Russia's feeding herself. No change of Government could do anything but arrest the awakening which is going on under our eyes and postpone its completion to the indefinite future.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

May 22.

Much rubbish appears to have been telegraphed to England based on Lenin's speech on the subject of forthcoming financial measures. I can definitely say that there is no project for the immediate devaluation of the rouble. As to the so – called exchange of new money for old, Lenin's real proposal is that up to a certain amount the possessors should receive new money, the surplus above that amount being opened as an account in a State bank, and its possessor given a checkbook. A postal savings bank on the English model is to be introduced.

The Germans in the Ukraine are carrying out a local devaluation of the rouble, buying Russian rouble at the rate of two Russian for one rouble in the currency of the occupied territory. With these Russian roubles they will then seek to do business with Russia. Lenin's scheme would put a limit to the possibilities of this piece of ingenuity and also to the steady importation of old ten rouble notes forged in Germany.

DN, May 28, 1918.

Night Battle In Moscow.

Anarchist Bombed Out of Cellars.

German Machine – Gun Captured.

Moscow, May 12 (delayed).

Last night the Soviet Government finally "cleaned up" the Anarchist movement in Moscow. Between 3 a.m. and 5 a.m. strong Soviet forces appeared simultaneously before 26 different Anarchist headquarters and demanded the surrender of all weapons within five minutes. In many cases the Anarchist yielded

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

at once. Others offered strong resistance, and the Soviet used 4in. guns.

In one big house, when the front was blown to pieces the Anarchists kept up a fight from the cellars, and were only dislodged by smoke bombs. Some 300 arrest were made, and a number of Anarchist were killed and wounded. The Soviet forces lost three killed and a comparatively small number wounded.

Today I went round the various palaces and other buildings from which the Anarchist were dislodged. Some were badly smashed up. Pictures were ruined by bulletholes, and statuary lay about on the floor. Whole rooms were looted, valuable things being stolen by hooligans who attached themselves to attached themselves to the Anarchists groups. Doubtless the counter – revolutionaries are making use of the Anarchist.

Among the weapons captured is a German machine – gun of the latest pattern. The Soviet has finally shown itself capable of uprooting a movement which all previous Governments had not dared to touch.

NYT, May 28, 1918, .

Soviet Puts Down Moscow Anarchists:

Cannon and Smoke Bombs Used in Assault Upon Various Headquarters.

Many Dead And Wounded:

Three Hundred Disarmed and Arrested-Palaces and Other Buildings Wrecked in Fighting.

Moscow, May 24.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Last night the Soviet Government finally cleaned up the anarchist movement in Moscow. Early this morning, between 3 and 5, strong Soviet forces appeared simultaneously before the twenty-six different anarchist headquarters and demanded the surrender of all weapons within five minutes.

In many cases the anarchists yielded at once. Others offered strong resistance. Where surrender was long delayed the Soviets used four-inch guns. There were strong cavalry patrols in the streets, and order was kept by chains of Soviet soldiers.

In one big house, after the front had been blown to pieces, the anarchists kept up the fight in cellars, and were only dislodged by smoke bombs thrown down.

There were 300 arrests and a number of anarchists were killed and wounded. The Soviet forces lost three killed and a comparatively small number of wounded.

Today I went around to the various palaces and other buildings from which the anarchists were dislodged. Some were badly smashed up, pictures were ruined, there were bullet holes in the walls and statuary lay about on the floor. Whole rooms were looted and packed with valuable things stolen by hooligans who attached themselves to the anarchist groups.

Doubtless the counterrevolutionaries are making use of the anarchists. A number of Russian officers were arrested with the anarchists and also no doubt many German agents. Among the weapons captured was a German machine gun of the latest pattern.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Thus the Soviet has finally shown itself capable of uprooting a movement which all previous Governments had not dared to touch.

NYT, May 28, 1918, .

**Don't Want To Fight Now:
Russians Need Only Economic Aid from the Allies, They Say.**

Moscow, May 24, (Continuation of a Previous Dispatch.)

The writer in the Izvestia goes on to say:

" A telegraph message from the Associated Press, the great American news agency, offers recognition of the Soviet Government if it will accept the temporary help of the Allies, consisting in the first place of Chinese and Japanese troops. Military assistance would be necessary to Russia if Russia were at war with Germany. But Russia wants peace with Germany, however bitter that peace may be. Russia is not prepared to throw herself again into the gulf of war if she is not forced thereto by the aggressive policy of Germany. If the Russian Government has openly declared that in the event of German aggression it considers it possible to accept any kind of help, it does not follow from that that she is prepared to invite help in order to provoke German aggression.

"Russia, at the present moment is not at war. This does not mean that we shut our eyes to the danger threatening us from German Imperialism. If any one wishes to help Russia to resist this danger let him re-establish her transport and reorganize her economic life.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

"The Russian Government has plainly informed the German Government that, as a Government of a neutral nation, it is trying to establish economic relations with all countries. If the Allies do not wish to drag Russia into war merely in order to ease the military situation on the western front, but actually wish to help her in her difficult position, then let them think of speedy economic help and not of something else."

The article ends by remarking that the Chinese-Japanese agreement concerns joint action against Germany, but is actually directed against Russia. The Chinese frontiers do not adjoin those of Germany, but those of Asiatic Russia. Thus this agreement "mobilizes China against us. This at present is more significant than any diplomatic music."

This article deserves most careful attention. I do not know a single responsible representative of the Soviets who fails to recognize that a struggle with Germany is inevitable sooner or later. If we in the meantime earn the confidence of the Soviet by recognition we shall then be invited to help.

Russia's own strength in the coming struggle depends entirely on the improvement of her material conditions. If help is forced on Russia prematurely its only effect will be to weaken Russia. It would be applauded by every intelligent German imperialist, who would rejoice to see the Allies making things easy for him.

DN. May 29, 1918.

Soviet And The Allies.

Demand for Sympathy and Recognition.

Scathing Criticism.

Moscow, Friday.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

A leader in today's «Isvestia» on the Allies and Russia gives a clear summary of the position. "When the workers and peasants of Russia conquered their bourgeoisie," says the writer, "the Press and diplomacy of the Allies cursed us, but abuse is not policy. Allied diplomats had to take action.

"The Allies have not yet ceased to trust in the Cadets. Nabokoff (formerly charge d'affaires in London) to this day receives his salary from the English Government. Even such Conservative organs as the 'Observer' and 'Times' weep crocodile tears over our lack of democracy, and invite us, if not to summon the Constituent Assembly, at least to call to power bourgeois groups in order to make a basis for a struggle with German Imperialism. We will not ask whether these papers have the right to complain of Bolshevik terror, because we receive their complaints simultaneously with the news of the destruction of the inviolability of Sinn Fein members of Parliament and their imprisonment.

"We only ask: Are responsible circles among the Allies so badly informed as not to understand that everything in Russia which is waiting for counter – revolution and 'order' is now on the side of Germany?" Not to understand after the entry of Cadet representatives into Skoropadsky's Cabinet that the Russian bourgeoisie has changed its orientation in its foreign relations is to have reached such a point of stupidity that at the sight of it that there is nothing to be done but wring one's hands. Therefore we can quietly put on one side all the considerations of the English Press about how nice it would be if the Bolsheviks in the struggle with the German danger should call other social circles to help them. These are but echoes of old holds at which actuality laughs maliciously."

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

American telegrams leave this question on one side. Diplomats of the American capital are clearly better informed, but they, too, show that they do not fully understand the situation.

DN. May 29, 1918.

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Demand for Sympathy and Recognition.

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Moscow, Friday.

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DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

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DN May 30, 1918.

Russia's Need.

Speedy Economic Help From the Allies.

Plain Words To The Entente.

[The following is a continuation of the message from our Special Correspondent at Moscow which appeared in "The Daily News" yesterday, quoting a leader in the «Isvestia» on the position between Russia and the Allies;]

Moscow, Friday.

The writing in the «Isvestia» goes on to say: "The telegram from the Associated Press (the great American news agency) offers recognition of the Soviet Government if it will accept the temporary help of the Allies, consisting, in the first place, of Chinese and Japanese troops. Military assistance would be necessary to Russia if Russia were at war with Germany, but

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Russia wants peace with Germany, however bitter that peace may be. Russia is not prepared to throw herself again into the gulf of war if she is not forced there by the aggressive policy of Germany.

"If the Russian Government has openly declared that in the event of German aggression it considers it possible to accept any kind of help, it does not follow from that that she is prepared to invite 'help' in order to provoke German aggression. Russia at the present moment is not at war. This does not mean that we shut our eyes to the dangers threatening us from German Imperialism. If anyone wishes to help Russia to resist this danger let him reestablish her transport and reorganized her economic life.

"The Russian Government has plainly informed the German Government that as the Government of a neutral nation it is trying to establish economic relations with all countries. If the Allies do not wish to drag Russia into war merely in order to ease the military situation on the Western front, but actually wish to help her in her difficult position, then let them think of speedy economic help and not of something else."

This article deserves most careful attention. I do not know a single responsible representative of the Soviets who fails to recognize that a struggle with Germany is inevitable sooner or later. If we in the meantime earn the confidence of the Soviet by the recognition we shall then be invited to help.

DN. June 5, 1918.

**The Germans In Caucasia.
Working With the New Dictator.**

Moscow, May 29.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

While peace negotiations are proceeding between Russia and the Ukraine and while the Germans declare that they will not support further aggression on the part of the Ukraine, a new Government makes its appearance in the Don country similar in character to that of Skoropadsky in the Ukraine. This Government claims to represent the populations of the Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan, and Northern Caucasus on the basis of an agreement made last October. That is to say, it is the descendent of the supposed pro-Ally, anti-Bolshevik, Cossack, counter-revolutionary movement.

The dictator at the head is General Krasnoff, who commanded Kerensky's forces up to the moment of Kerensky's flight and disappearance from Gatchina after the October Revolution. His first proclamation contains the following:

"Yesterday's foreign foe, the Austro-Germans, have entered our territory in alliance with us to fight against the Red Guards and for establishment of order on the Don."

It is to be hoped that this last disillusionment will be enough to show what has many times been proved already – that the only real force opposed to the Germans in Russia is the force of the Revolution. Krasnoff is attempting to force a counter-revolution on an unwilling population, and therefore announces his friendship towards the Germans and the reactionary Ukrainian Government. He is likely to meet with stubborn resistance.

In the Ukraine the peasant revolt is daily growing in force. Peasants and ex-soldiers defend themselves against Germans with rifles and machine guns. Armed guerrilla bands grow like mushrooms. The Germans are attempting to suppress them by burning whole villages.

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NYT, June 5, 1918, .

**New Cossack Dictator:
His First Proclamation for Order and Against Bolshevism.**

Moscow, May 29.

While peace negotiations are proceeding between Russia and Ukraine a new Government has appeared in the Don country similar in character to that of Skoropadaki in Ukraine.

This Government claims to represent the populations of Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan, and Northern Caucasus on the basis of an agreement, made last October, that is to say, it is the descendant of the supposed pro-Ally anti-Bolshevist, counter revolutionary movement.

The dictator at its head is General Krasnoff, who commanded Kerensky's forces up to the moment of Kerensky's flight and disappearance from Gatchina after the October revolution. His first proclamation contains the following:

"Yesterday's foreign foe, the Austro-Germans have entered our territory in alliance with us to fight against the Red Guard and for the establishment of order on the Don."

Krasnoff is likely to meet with stubborn resistance.

In Ukraine the peasant revolt is daily growing in force. The peasants and ex-soldiers defend themselves against the Germans with rifles and machine guns. Army guerilla bands grow like mushrooms. The Germans are attempting to suppress them by burning whole villages, but are merely succeeding in deepening

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the fierce resentment against themselves. The Germans have had to send two more corps to Ukraine, making twelve in all.

NYT, June 9, 1918, .

**Soviet To Conscript Army:
Orders Commissariat of War to Draft Plan Within a Week.**

Moscow, May 30, (Via London, June 8.)

An extremely important decision was taken last night when the Executive Committee instructed the Commissariat of War to prepare within a week a scheme for compulsory recruiting of one or more classes in the. Moscow and Petrograd districts, and in Don and Kuban.

The choice of districts was dictated by the consideration that Moscow and Petrograd are the greatest industrial centres, and consequently contain the largest proportion of workmen politically self-conscious, and therefore ready to understand the need and to support the Soviets in carrying out a measure by everything that increases the military power of the Soviet Government.

Similarly in Don and Kuban the openly reactionary character of the program of the Krasnoff Government so clearly illustrates to the Cossack working classes the need of immediate resistance that they themselves are asking to be mobilized, and many local Soviets have already introduced conscriptive methods.

Personally I consider the Government is taking considerable risk in so soon taking the decisive step from the voluntary system to

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

conscription, but if they succeed in carrying it through, clearer proof could not be asked of their real existence as a Government.

The reason for their action thus unexpectedly early is the discovery. of a widespread plot which has direct connection with the Krasnoff Cossack movement, with artificially provoked riots at Saratov and with the principal disturbers of the peace in Siberia, and unless this is immediately liquidated Russia, will seriously suffer, wherefore the urgency with which measures are being taken.

It is equally important to the Soviet that it shall not be cut off from Kuban, hence the urgent mobilization against Krasnoff.

DN. June 10, 1918.

Conscription In Russia.

Menace on the Present Situation.

Allies Attitude.

Moscow, May 30 (delayed).

The extremely important decision taken last night, when the executive committee instructed the War Commissariat to prepare within a week a scheme for the compulsory recruiting of one or more classes in the Moscow and Petrograd districts and in the Don and Kuban will certainly be made the basis of anti-Soviet agitation by the Germans and counter-revolutionary elements. In the Don and Kuban the openly reactionary character of the pro – German Krasnoff Government so clearly illustrated to the Cossack working classes the need for immediate resistance, that they themselves are asking to be mobilized, and many local Soviets have already introduced conscription methods.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Personally I consider that the Government is taking a considerable risk in so soon taking a decisive step from the voluntary system to Conscription, but if they succeed in carrying it through, clear proof could not be asked of their real existence as a Government.

The reason for their unexpectedly early action is the discovery of a widespread plot which has direct connection with the Krasnoff Cossack movement, with the artificially provoked riots in Saratov, and with the principle disturbers of the peace in Siberia.

A Serious Danger.

The bulk of the Cossack population are for the Soviets against the Krasnoff Government, and the bulk of the Czechoslovak's have not been led into misunderstanding, but the danger is, nevertheless, serious. As a member of the executive put it last night, "the danger is not lest the Czechoslovak or Krasnoff bands should conquer the Soviet Government, which is based on the support of many millions of working people, but consists in the sharpening of the crisis in supply which would result if we should be cut off from Kuban, the Don, and Siberia."

That is an admirable statement of the position. Every riot, revolt, counterrevolution, or other disturbance weakens Russia as a whole because it increases the difficulty of reestablishing her organism of supply. It, therefore, weakens her either as a possible Ally or in her present isolated position. In any case, every such disturbance indirectly strengthens Germany and those "patriots" who, because they dislike the Soviets, are willing thus to help Germany, and who do not deserve the consideration of the Allies.

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May 29.

The «Isvestia» prints in large type, without comment, the following telegram: "London, May 26. – Reuters Agency announces from Washington that between the United States and the Allies an agreement has been reached regarding non– intervention in Russian affairs. Moreover, it has been decided to give Russia the widest economic help. England and America have informed the Japanese Government of this decision, pointing out that it should not be considered as an act of an unfriendly character towards Japan."

New Relations With Allies.

I have seen the original of this telegram, which is in French. The last phrase is rather ambiguous and another meaning could be read into it. All the papers give great prominence to the telegram, but do not comment on it, although the Bolshevik "Pravda" gives it the heading "Is This True?" Responsible members of the Soviet Government are unwilling to express any definite opinion until the news is officially confirmed, but in the event of its truth attribute the utmost importance to it. It is thought to be possibly the turning point in relations between the Allies and Russia, since it is the first step towards recognition.

A peasant movement, similar to that in the Ukraine, is beginning in Finland, where guerrilla bands are being raised for the struggle with the Germans.

Germany can only retain her hold on these occupied territories by force of arms, and there are many signs, both North and South, of weakening discipline in the German Army, such as refusals to obey orders to go to the Western front and growing unwillingness to be the executioners of Russian and Finnish workingmen.

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DN. June 13, 1918.

Czechs & Soviets.

Lightening the German Task in the South.

Moscow, June 5 (Delayed).

A compromise is possible with regard to the Czechs. The Soviet regards their disarmament as essential, but recognizes that the Czechs as a whole are loyal. The Soviet is willing to let them proceed, if there is the assurance that they will not join General Semenov or other anti-Soviet forces in the Far East.

The trouble with the Czechs, besides increasing the difficulties of food supply from Siberia, is also lightening the task of the Germans in the South. The Don Cossacks, with German officers, are approaching Tsaritsin and Saratoff, and the Soviet is finding difficulty in sending reinforcements against them because of the need of sending troops to deal with the Czechs in the Urals.

NYT, June 14, 1918, .

May Compromise With Czech Troops:

Soviet Willing to Let Them Go to Vladivostok if They Won't Join Semenov .

Moscow, June 5.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

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The trouble with the Czechs, besides increasing the difficulties of obtaining a food supply from Siberia, is also lightening the task of the Germans. In the South the Don Cossacks, with German officers, are approaching Tsaritsin and Saratoff, and the Soviet is finding difficulty in sending reinforcements against them because of the need of sending troops to deal with the Czechs in the Urals.

NYT, June 15, 1918,

Says Berlin Refuses To Help Krasnoff:

German Envoy So Tells Soviet, Yet Troops Do Aid Cossack General.

Moscow, June 2, (via London, June 14.)

Ambassador Mirbach, admitting that General Krasnoff had asked the Germans for help, has officially informed the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs at Moscow that Krasnoff's request has been definitely refused. From Kiev I learn that General Eichhorn is in favor of giving German military help to Krasnoff, but that German diplomacy opposes him. Some help has actually been given. The Germans helped Krasnoff to push back Soviet troops from the riverside suburbs of Krasnoff's capital, Rostov. Krasnoff's capital is no longer under steady fire from the light artillery of his subjects.

Soviet circles in Moscow are convinced that there is close connection between Krasnoff's movements on the Don and the action of the Czechoslovaks in seizing a number of stations of the

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

eastern railway, although they fully recognize that the Czechoslovaks probably for the most part are unaware of the use being made of them. The Czechoslovak representative in Moscow admits that the reason, for the delay in sending them to Vladivostok was the Semenoff disturbances on the Manchurian frontier and danger lest these well-disciplined troops should be used on their arrival in the east against the Soviets.

Certain officers tried to stir up dissatisfaction, for example, over the fact that Czechoslovak Council troops had been requisitioned for Moscow. Then there is the conflict between the Czechs and Magyars at Chelyabinsk, after which came the demand that the Czechs should, to avoid further incidents, travel unarmed, except for ordinary guards,

The strategical significance of their action is the temporary cutting off of Russia from the Urals, but at Ufa they have already been disarmed, and complete liquidation of the affair is expected within a few days. French officers are to sit on the Commission of inquiry.

The political significance of these incidents is an indirect increase in the difficulties of food transmission. This, of course, is directly to the advantage of Germany, because, unlike previous discontents, such as the Bolshevist discontent of last summer, the present unrest has as its basis the stomach only, and carries with it no definite political movement. Its object--at least the object with which it is fanned by the counter-revolutionaries-is to throw out the Soviets. It has nothing with which to replace them. After the Soviets, the deluge, and after the deluge, reaction and Germany working from Kiev.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

DN. June 15, 1918.

Germans And Cossacks.

Request for Assistance Definitely Refused.

Moscow, June 2 (Delayed).

Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador at Moscow, admitting that General Krasnoff had asked the Germans for help, has officially informed the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs at Moscow that the request has been definitely refused.

General Eichhorn is in favor of giving German military help to Krasnoff, but in that German diplomacy opposes him. Some help has actually been given. The Germans helped Krasnoff to push back the Soviet troops from the riverside suburbs of Krasnoff's capital, Rostoff, and that capital is now no longer under steady fire from the light artillery of his subjects.

Soviet circles in Moscow are convinced of a close connection between Krasnoff's move on the Don and the action of the Czechoslovak's in seizing a number of stations on the Eastern Railway, although they fully recognize that the Czechoslovak's are probably for the most part unaware of the use being made of them.

Cut Off From The Ural.

Certain officers tried to stir up dissatisfaction, for example, over the fact that the Czechoslovak troops had been requisitioned by Moscow. Then there was the conflict between the Czechs and the Hungarian war prisoners at Chelyabinsk, after which came the demand that the Czechs should, to avoid further incidents, travel unarmed except for ordinary guards. The strategic significance

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

of their action is the temporary cutting off of Russia from the Urals, but at Ufa they have already been disarmed, and the complete settlement of the affair is expected within a few days.

The political significance of the incidents is an indirect increase in the difficulties of food transit.

June 5 (delayed).

Certain details of the discovered revolutionary plot throw a clear light on the present situation. Among the parties uniting in the conspiracy elements on the Right were for seeking German help, elements on the Left were favoring help from the Allies. The latter tendencies seemed in the ascendant, as other evidence showed the expectation of Allied help before the final overturning of the Soviets.

Belief In The Masses.

This was to be accomplished in the only possible way –by exciting in the masses the belief that the Soviet was responsible for their starvation. Starvation in itself was to be increased by the creation of the Ural front, cutting off supplies from Siberia.

The extent to which the plotters believed in the eagerness of the masses to join the Army is indicated by their determination to pay 300 rouble monthly to each soldier. As a means of destroying the Soviet Government the plot was extremely practical. As a means of hurting Germany it is merely laughable. It's effect would be to destroy the hope of the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine, thereby allowing Germany to take troops thence for occupying, if they wished, defenseless Russia. Part of that plot, whether intentionally or not, is being tested in practice by the

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Czech=Slovak troops, who are actually seriously contributing to Russia's difficulties.

NYT, June 16, 1918, .

**Accuses Rich Farmers Of Starving Russians:
Lenine Organizes Food Expeditions of the Poor to Seize Supplies.**

Moscow, June 5.

Yesterday, at a united meeting of the Executive Committee with representatives of other labor organizations, Premier Lenine outlined the Soviet policy against hunger. He pointed out that all the anti-Soviet parties were hoping that starvation would produce anarchy, which might or might not be profitable to them, and he proceeded to discuss means of dealing with the food supply, emphasizing the fact that raising prices and allowing the independent dragging of sacks of flour to market by individuals who traveled with their sacks and engaged in speculation would make the task, of reorganization impossible, and at the same time strengthen the capitalistic system in the villages. This, he said, would afford new means of profiteering by rich peasants, and still further enslave the poor.

In the towns the factory workers, he said, better understood what they stood to gain by the revolution than did the country people. There must be a. campaign of agitation in the country, a general organization of poor peasants for the final destruction of the autocracy of the rich peasants in the villages. It was the rich peasants, he said, not the poor, who were holding up food supplies.

He replied to the criticism of the behavior of some food-seeking expeditions by saying that the old principles of the capitalist

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

régime still affected them. He called for unity of the workers and workers' expeditions from the non-agricultural districts, where starvation was threatened, for bread crusades against speculators and against the rich peasants, whose interests were naturally to uphold the system that had made them rich, and for established order in the place of the present disorder, and the holding up of stores that kept some districts fed and doomed others to death by hunger, and increased the power of the rich over the poor.

This, he said, would not only put an end to hunger, but also carry class consciousness, which was necessary for the final triumph of the revolution, into the country as distinct from the town.

DN. June 17, 1918.

"Bread Crusades."

Lenin Outlines Soviets Anti— Hunger Policy.

Moscow, June 5 (Delayed).

Yesterday, at a united meeting of the Executive Committee with representatives of other Labor organizations, Lenin outlined the policy of the Soviet against hunger. He laid emphasis on the fact that raising prices and allowing the independent marketing of flour by individuals who traveled with their flour – sacks and engaged in speculation made the task of reorganization impossible.

In the towns and factories the workers better understood what they stood to gain by the Revolution than in the country. There must be a campaign of agitation in the country, and in general organization of the poor peasants for the final destruction of the autocracy of the rich peasants in the villages.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Lenin called for unity of the workers, and for "bread crusades" against the speculators and rich peasants. Trotsky, who spoke for the Communist Party, declared that three most difficult months lay ahead, adding: "We will live through these three months, and to live through these three months is to establish the Soviet Republic forever."

NYT, June 22, 1918, .

**Bolsheviks Can't Get Siberian Grain:
Czechoslovak Control of the Railway Has Isolated European Russia.**

**General Semenov Defeated:
His Cossacks Retreating Into China.-Soviets Executing Political Foes by Wholesale.**

Moscow, June 10.

The Czechoslovak revolt is increasingly serious because compromise has been made almost impossible by the anti-Soviet minorities. In Western Siberia. they have seized authority wherever the Czechoslovaks are in the ascendancy. In this way, from small beginnings, the Czechoslovak rising is turning into a movement on a considerable scale.

Even this would not matter so much if only the area of operations were anywhere else; but it not only cuts off the Soviet's line of retreat in case of a break with Germany, but also their food.

Cossack troops with German officers are reported to be advancing on Tsaritsyn, while the Czechoslovaks dominate Samara, thus cutting off Russia from the lower Volga.

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Strong Soviet forces have been sent to the scene, and the Soviet leaders profess confidence in their ability to suppress the movement. But the Czechoslovak troops are certainly the best disciplined in Russia, and from the point of view of European Russia, whose relations with Germany become more and more strained every day, the delay in reopening Siberian communications has a serious effect.

DN. June 22, 1918.

**The Czech Revolt.
Increasing Gravity of the Movement.**

Moscow, June 10 (delayed).

The Czech revolt is becoming increasingly serious because compromise has been made almost impossible by the anti-- Soviet minorities in Western Siberia, who, wherever the Czechs are in the ascendancy, have seized authority. In this way, from small beginnings, the Czech incident is developing into a movement on a considerable scale.

Even this would not matter so much if only the area of operations were anywhere else; but it not only cuts off the Soviets line of retreat in case of a break with Germany, but also cuts off the food supply.

Cossack troops, with German officers, are reported to be advancing on Tsaritsin, while the Czechs dominate Samara, thus isolating Russia from the Lower Volga. Strong Soviet forces have been sent, and the Soviet leaders are confident of their ability to suppress the Czech movement. But Czech troops are certainly the best disciplined of any in Russia, and from the point of view of European Russia, whose relations with Germany are growing more

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and more strained every day, the delay and reopening Siberian communications has a serious effect.

NYT, June 25, 1918,

**Bar Esthonian Refugees:
Germans Hold 40,000 at the Frontier, Fearing Bolshevist Infection.**

Moscow, June 2

Although letters received in Moscow from Esthonians show that they would rather come to Russia than remain under German rule, the elemental flood of refugees pours toward the frontiers. This flood is held up on the frontiers by the Germans, who fear the infection of Bolshevism:

Near Brysa there are 40,000 refugees, most of them camping in the forests, and many dying of hunger; and there is much typhoid and dysentery.

NYT, June 26, 1918,

**Ukraine Aflame Against Germans:
Floggings and Hangings Fail to Repress Revolt Against New Masters.**

**Kiev Is Swept. By Fire:
Arsenal at Odessa Is Blown Up --Nagauren Being Shelled by
Improvised Monitors.
Thousands Unemployed:
Factories Purposely Closed to Starve Their Employes into Working
for a Pittance.**

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

Moscow, June 2S.

A great fire at Kiev has destroyed five square miles of the town.

The Odessa arsenal has been blown up.

A flotilla of improvised monitors under command of a sailor has bombarded Nagauran.

The Germans in Ukraine are by their acquisitions steadily increasing the dissatisfaction of the working classes and peasants. Serious disorders and in some cases open risings are taking place.

Where the Bolsheviki hold a centre they make expeditions against the Germans in the surrounding country, notably in the Governments of Chugiv and Podolsk. In Kiev itself the explosion of a powder magazine is still unexplained. All the windows in the main street were smashed, and the resulting fire, not yet controlled, threatened the kerosene and other explosive stores.

Many reports agree that throughout the Ukraine the Germans are systematically killing Bolsheviki and flogging workmen. It is reported that whereas the Germans destroy the Soviet organizations, the Austrians do not, and there are differences of a serious character; between the allies on this account in the Ukraine.

The Ministry of Labor in the Ukraine reports the following figures of unemployment: Kiev, 15,000; Odessa, 20,000; Kherson 25,000; Kharkov, 25,000; Nikolaiiv, 24,000; Ekaterinoslav, 40,000. These huge figures are partly explained by the purposeful crossing of works in order to starve the workpeople into sacrificing the gains of the revolution and agreeing to work for ridiculously small wages

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and longer hours, the starving unemployed of one district being used to blackleg the starving unemployed of another.

Meanwhile, the Germans are keeping fairly close guard on the Russian-Ukrainian frontiers, which disturbs classes quite other than that of the workers. Radek's prophecy in a speech to the Council of National Economy on the Brest-Litovsk peace, when he said Ukraine would find separation from Russia impossible for economic reasons, is already verified by a deputation of big Ukrainian masters of steel and iron industries, who informed the Ukrainian Government that the economical life of the country would perish unless close economic connection was established with Northern Russia, which is its principal market.

In the northern occupied districts there is wholesale political espionage. German soldiers enter into discussions, and they arrest those whose opinion is suspected.

June 19.--The revolutionary movement in the Ukraine is steadily growing in spite of arrests, punitive expeditions, and wholesale hangings. I have seen German photographs of a row of twenty gallows with corpses of Austrian inter-nationalists executed at Ekaterinoslav. Strike after strike has occurred in the towns, Organized bands of guerrillas systematically destroy German food requisitioning detachments.

The revolutionaries have improvised monitors, mounting guns on cement ballasted flat-bottomed barges.

The tragic irony of the situation is that at this moment Soviet Russia, which is steadily being forced toward a break with Germany, should be weakened by an outbreak of the counter-revolution in western Siberia, which is profiting by, and caused, the armed action of the Czechs.

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Remembering that the ultimate object of the Bolsheviki is a world social revolution, it is obvious that all bourgeois Governments are their enemies. But some of these enemies are more remote than others, and they are in the position of a man who must knock out his nearest enemy. Their reason may well be that in the long run they will damage Germany most by letting her earn the unpopularity that, as in Ukraine, shows the results of suppression. They may with open eyes incite the Germans to their own undoing. It was remarked to me the other day that "if Germany is tempted into the adventure of ruling Great Russia, it will be her finish, as it was Napoleon's."

A bourgeois recently arrived from the Baltic provinces reports that German rule there has wiped out the memory of the disorders of the Russian soldiery and that the population as a whole is more revolutionary than it has been for a dozen years. At a meeting of Baltic land-owners one of them, regretting this, remarked:

" If the German troops are ever removed we shall have to leave first for our own sakes,"

All reports of persons escaping from the occupied territory agree as to the marked degeneration of German discipline. A man who had done it said to me:

"It is possible now to bribe one's way from one end, of the country to the other."

The control of the German officers over their men is steadily weakening.

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DN. June 26, 1918.

Bolsheviks And Germany.

Revolt in the Ukraine Steadily Growing.

Policy Of Terrorism.

Moscow, June 19.

The revolutionary movement in the Ukraine is steadily growing in spite of arrests, punitive expeditions, and wholesale hanging. I have seen a German photograph of a row of 20 gallows with corpses. Austrian Internationalist have been executed at Ekaterinoslav.

The great fire at Kieff destroyed 5 miles of the town. The munition stores were blown up at Kremenchug, and Odessa Arsenal was also blown up. Strike after strike is taking place in the towns. Organized bands of guerrillas systematically destroy the German food requisitioning detachments. The revolutionaries use improvised monitors, mounting guidance on cement ballasted, flat – bottom barges. A flotilla under the command of a sailor bombarded Taganrog.

It is a tragic irony that at this moment the Soviet of Russia, which is steadily being forced towards a break with Germany, should be weakened by the outbreak of counter – revolution in Western Siberia, which is profiting by the armed action of the Czechs.

Bolsheviks Object.

Remembering that the ultimate object of the Bolsheviks is a world of social revolution, it is obvious that all bourgeois Governments are their enemies. But some of these enemies are more remote

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than others, and the Bolsheviks are in the position of a man who must knock out his nearest enemy before getting at the others. Germany is in the position of the nearest enemy.

If the war ends with Germany the victor the Bolsheviks, of all people, stand to lose most. As soon as they realized that they are being cut off from Eastern supplies their position will be hopeless. Their reasoning may well be that in the long run they will damage Germany most by letting her earn the unpopularity that – as the Ukrainia shows – results from a policy of repression. One of them said to me the other day, "If Germany is tempted into the adventure of ruling Great Russia it will be her finish as it was Napoleons."

**Ukraine Risings.
Friday.**

The Germans in the Ukraine are by their acquisitions steadily increasing the dissatisfaction of the working classes and the peasants. Serious disorders, in some cases open risings, are taking place. Where the Bolsheviks hold the center they make expeditions against the Germans in the surrounding country, notably in the Governments of Chernigoff ,Podolsk, and Kieff. In Kieff itself the explosion of the powder magazines is still unexplained. All the windows in the main street were smashed, and the resulting fire, not yet controlled, threatening the kerosene and other explosive stores.

Many agree that throughout the Ukraine the Germans are systematically killing Bolsheviks and flogging the workmen. It is ed that whereas the Germans destroy the Soviet organizations, the Austrians do not, and there are differences of a serious character between the Allies on this account. The German military command

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

in the Ukraine seems independent of the orders of German diplomacy, whose arrangements it simply disregards.

DN June 28, 1918.

The Bolshevik View.

Criticism of Franco-British Policy.

Moscow, Saturday.

German protests against the alleged breaking of the peace treaty are becoming more and more frequent, and the Russian official newspapers have declared in the clearest manner that the Soviet Government, while anxious to keep the peace, will be unable to do so if the Germans make demands which affect Russia's internal policy, which alone was preserved in tact after the Brest treaty. Count Mirbach's last note complains that the Russian radio circulates anti— German propaganda, while there is nothing to show that the Russian Government takes a similar line with regard to the Allies.

The character of the present peace is exactly like that of a forced agreement between a workman and his employer after an unsuccessful strike, and it is perfectly clear that sooner or later the workman , who meanwhile is making every effort to strengthen himself, will be forced in self – defense to strike again.

"Agents Of Imperialism."

Today's «Isvestia» prints a leader. "For Whose Advantage?" pointing out that the Allied policy with regard to the Soviet Government has been throughout to the advantage of Germany. "None suspects for a moment that Clemenceau and Lloyd George

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are agents of German Imperialism. They of course, are the agents of imperialism, but of Anglo – French Imperialism. However, their whole policy and attitude towards the Soviet Government, their refusal to consider peace offers, their Chauvinistic declarations, etc., actually grind the corn of the German military party.

Japan And Vladivostok.

"Consider the thoughtless tactics of diplomatic wobbling's, contradictory declarations, today a readiness to recognize the Soviet Government, tomorrow a decision to interfere in Russian affairs against the will of this same Soviet Government; today a tactless interview approving the forced invasion of Russia, tomorrow a declaration that the Powers of the Alliance will never decide on any act of oppression with regard to Revolutionary Russia. Remember, finally, the fact that a Japanese landing at Vladivostok is not yet it seems, fully liquidated."

The article ends: "Every day the policy of Lloyd George and Clemenceau is directed against the Soviet of Russia is equivalent, for the English and French peoples, to a considerable defeat on the field of battle. For wars are lost not only on the field of battle, but also in the Cabinets of blind and incompetent diplomats. And, we ask, for whose advantage?" This article pretty accurately represents the point of view of those members of the Soviet Government whose pro– Ally leanings are quite unmistakable.

NYT, June 28, 1918.

**Soviets Now Talk Of Resisting Berlin:
German Demand Proving Too Onerous—Trotzky Discusses
Difficulty of Raising New Army.**

Moscow, June 8, (via London, June 27.)

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German protests against the alleged breakings of the peace treaty are becoming more and more frequent, and Russian official newspapers have declared in the clearest manner that the Soviet Government, while anxious to keep peace, will be unable to do so if the Germans make more demands.

It is perfectly clear that sooner or later the workman who, in the meanwhile is making every effort to strengthen himself, will be forced in self-defense to strike again. Germany's best hope, if she wishes to avoid further conflict with the revolution, lies further East, where the possible cutting off of Siberian resources from Russia would probably result in a collapse of the Soviet Government.

Last night at a conference of military commissaries Trotzky spoke of the task of creating a new army. He demanded at the conference that voluntary expeditions of the best workmen and peasants had successfully put down every treacherous movement organized by counter revolutionaries from within, but they were without physical and technical strength to struggle with the better organized and equipped troops of a foreign counter- revolution.

There was a general recognition of the need of a strong army and of the difficulties in creating it. Civil wars had added to the already existing difficulties of transport and food.

With regard to conscription Trotzky said: "Voluntary recruiting is a temporary compromise forced upon us in a critical peril of the complete collapse of the old army and the increased violence of civil war."

It was recognized, he said, that, besides the best men, voluntary recruiting had drawn into the army many undesirable elements.

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Conscription, by bringing all workmen, will make these undesirable elements an insignificant minority. He further spoke of the need of using experienced officers, due to the fact that there were so few such persons in the actual revolutionary class, which, however, would control the political, but not the military actions, of these commanders through the commissaries. Generals, &c., would answer with their heads for the success and efficiency of their operations as in other countries, but would not be allowed to use their positions for political action against the workmen's and peasants' Government.

NYT June 30, 1918,

Soviet Calls Fifth All-Russian Assembly:

Will Consider the Dangers Which Menace Present Government from All Sides.

Moscow, June 12.

The revolt of the Czechs, as expected, has been used as a basis of force for turning out the Soviets by otherwise powerless anti-Soviet politicians in Western Siberia. The new self-appointed Siberian Government attempts to buy off Russian. opposition by, a promise of food. This is, of course, a political move intended to weaken the Soviet in European and hungry Russia.

From the Soviet point of view the establishment of Western Siberia as a rallying point for a counter-revolution is too dangerous to admit of compromise, and the Soviet leaders feel themselves committed to .the struggle. They declare that sturdy troops have been dispatched which are capable of suppressing the Czechs and

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re-establishing the Soviets. The departure of the Czechs from Penza and other places was immediately followed by the supremacy of the Soviets.

There can be no doubt that the Czechs themselves are not anti-Soviet, and are now merely being used as instruments. Stalin, Lenine's right-hand man, reports plentiful , food in the. Volga districts, and believes the Siberian starvation threat can be thus nullified. There is, however, danger lest this food supply be cut off by the German-supported Don Cossack movement.

The fifth All-Russian Assembly of Soviets has been summoned for June 28. The first assembly last summer, Menshevist in character, was for coalition and the Stockholm conference. The failure of the coalition to obtain peace and the failure of the conference prepared the way for the second assembly, in which the Bolsheviks approved the taking of all power by the. Soviets and made the-Soviet Government the formal as well as the actual authority in Russia.

The third assembly was an answer to the Constituent Assembly. It approved the Soviet Government's peace policy, seeing its results in the German and Austrian strikes. The fourth, in Moscow, after the German advance, ratified the peace of Brest-Litovsk and prepared to make the best of what was left in hopes of the future.

The fifth is summoned now when the Soviets, are threatened by the Germans in the west, by Ukraine in the south, by the Cossacks with German help in the southeast and by a counter revolution supported by Czechs in the east.

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DN. July 8, 1918.

The Iron Hand In Russia.

Austro – Germans at Variance.

Revolutionary Spirit

.

Moscow, June 28.

Yesterday morning M. Rakovsky returned to Moscow from conducting negotiations at Kieff. I met him yesterday night. He confirmed the report as to the hostility between the Germans and Austrians. This is partially due to German impatience with the inefficiency of the Austrian troops, who without German help would be unable to hold down the Ukrainian unrest.

The Austrians are assigned to quieter districts. German soldiers being invariably sent where trouble is expected. It also has a political basis in differences concerning the Kholm district, which is claimed both by Poland and the Ukraine. Austria, owing to the strength of internal Polish influence in this matter, backs Poland. Unless that the material conditions improve M. Rakovsky says a revolution is inevitable in the Ukraine immediately on the removal of foreign troops.

The Czech Revolt.

Events in Samara after the seizure by the Czechs should be instructive for those who believe that intervention and the overthrow the Soviets will be received with gratitude by an oppressed population. The Czechs themselves refrain from repressive measures, but their presence allowed other parties to take revenge, which alone they were powerless to obtain. Overall a hundred Red Guards were shot and about 50 civilian workmen.

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The Soviet leaders were imprisoned under very bad conditions on a diet of bread and water.

As soon as the local work people realized what was being done they came to the "new Government" with the demand for the immediate release of the leaders and the cessation of further arrests. The sympathies of the population were so obvious that the new Government, perhaps with the example of last year's packed democratic conference in their minds, brought together a "conference of representatives of the population" to consider the formation of a new Government.

Popular Soviets.

This conference was composed as follows: 200 officers – who were actually taking part in the anti– Soviet movement – 200 workmen, and, to ensure a majority, 30 bourgeois. In spite of this manifestly unfair proportion the voting was as follows: For the Constituent Assembly, 200; for the Soviet Government, 198.

The reign of terror in Finland is really due to the fright of the party that, with German help, has obtained predominance on realizing that the only effect of suppression is to strengthen and deepen the revolutionary movement. The same conditions exist in Estonia, Livonia, and the Ukraine. Every act of oppression strengthens the revolutionary feeling of the masses, who after losing the Soviets were immediately forced to realize how valuable was the thing they had lost.

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NYT, July 8, 1918, .

Teutons In Ukraine Fall Into Discord:

Moscow, June 28.

Yesterday morning M. Rayovsny returned to Moscow from conducting negotiations at Kiev. I met him last night. He confirmed the report as to hostility there between the Germans and Austrians.

This was partly due to German impatience with the inefficiency of the Austrian troops, who without German help would be unable to hold down the Ukrainian unrest. The Austrians are assigned to the quieter districts, German soldiers being invariably sent where trouble is expected. There is also a political basis in the difference concerning Kholm district, which is claimed both by Poland and the Ukraine. Austria, owing to the strength of the internal Polish influence in this matter, is involved.

Unless conditions improve materially, Rayovsny says that revolution is inevitable in the Ukraine Immediately, on the removal of the foreign troops.

Events in Samara, after its seizure by the Czechs, should be instructive for those who believe that intervention and the overthrow of the Soviets will be received with gratitude by an oppressed population. The Czechs themselves refrained from repressive measures, but their presence allowed other parties to take revenge which alone they were powerless to obtain. More than 100 Red Guards were shot and about fifty civilian workmen.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

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As soon as the-local work people realized what was being done, they came to the "new Government" with a demand for the immediate release of the leaders and a cessation of further arrests. The sympathies of the population were so obvious that the new Government, perhaps with recent examples fresh in mind, packed a democratic "conference of representatives of the population "to consider the formation of a Government. This packed conference was composed as follows: Two hundred officers who were actually taking part in the anti-Soviet movement, 200 workmen, and to insure a majority, 30 bourgeoisie.

In spite of this manifestly unfair proportion the voting was: For a Constituent Assembly, 200 to 198 for the Soviet Government, while the remaining handful voted for giving all authority into the hands of the old local organizations. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the feeling of the majority of the population.

The reign of terror in Finland is really due to the fright of the party which, with German help, has obtained predominance, on realizing that the only effect of suppression is to strengthen and deepen the revolutionary movement.

The. same conditions exist in Esthonia, Livonia, and the Ukraine. Every .act of oppression strengthens the revolutionary feeling of the masses, who: after losing the Soviets, were immediately forced to realize how valuable was the thing they had lost.

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NYT, August 6, 1918,

**The Bolsheviki's Attitude:
They Are Watching Negotiations with Finland,**

Moscow. July 30, (via Stockholm.)-- (Delayed.)

A Russian delegation headed by M. Vorovsky has gone to Berlin for peace negotiations with the Finns. These negotiations are of extreme importance to the Allies because they will settle, at least academically, how much right the Finnish Government has to a part of the Murman coast.

The Russian view is that, though willing to cede some of the coast line to a Finnish labor Government, it is unwilling to do the same to a Government which has ill-treated women and children.

As far as we can gather even among the governing circles in Finland there is a division of opinion in view of the manifest unwillingness of a large section of the population to find itself at war with the Allies.

The Red Finns are prepared in any case to resist the Finnish Government and to work with the English if that is not made impossible by some further embitterment of Anglo-Russian relations.

The Russian attitude will, of course, be influenced by the development of events in the north. If the Russian Government considers that the Allies intend a further advance in the north they may consider that by dividing with the White Finns a paper right to a part of the coast they will be forcing the Allies to fight the Finns

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924

instead of the Russians, and so will be making more difficult what they regard as the invasion of a neutral country.

If on the other hand the Russian Government is persuaded that the Allies do not intend a further advance then their attitude with regard to the White Finnish Government is likely to be stiffer, because the presence of the Allies in such a case might become an advantage to the Russian Government instead of as, at present a very definite threat.

For this reason if for no other the departure of representatives at this moment is regrettable from the point of view both of the Allies and Russia. Their presence in Vologda was considered harmful because of activities directed by one embassy in particular against the Central Soviet Government.

Their presence in Moscow was considered highly desirable. The mere presence of authoritative allied representatives implying the possibility of agreement would have strengthened Russian diplomacy both with the Finns and with the Germans. Their departure was desired only by Germans, who will profit by the fact that they are no longer threatened by an open or secret agreement with the Allies.

Yesterday von Helfferich, the German diplomatic representative, arrived. He is a man of such standing in Germany that it is unlikely he would have accepted such a post unless with plenipotentiary powers. That is to say, that at the moment when the Allies are without responsible representatives in Russia, Germany sends one of her best men, who will have the additional advantage of being able to decide on the spot questions to which the Allies can only reply after many days of cloudy telegraphing from Volozia. The time wasted in telegraphing is prodigious, and can only be

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eliminated by the presence here of Allied representatives with full authority.

DN. August 6, 1918.

Russo-Finnish Peace.

Important Negotiations Opened at Berlin.

Moscow (via Stockholm). July 30 (delayed).

The Russian Delegation, headed by M.Vorovsky, has gone to Berlin for peace negotiations with the Finns. These negotiations are of extreme importance to England, because they will settle, at least academically, how much right the Finnish Government has to part of the Murman coast. The Russian view is that, though willing to cede some of the coastline to the Finnish Labor Government, it is unwilling to do the same to a Government which has executed over 20,000 Socialist, including women and children.

As far as I can gather, even among the governing circles in Finland there is a division of opinion in view of the manifest unwillingness of a large section of the population to find itself at war with the Allies. The Red Finns are prepared, in any case, to resist the Finnish Government, and to work with the English if that is not made impossible by some further embitterment of Anglo – Russian relations.

The Russian attitude will, of course, be influenced by the development of events in the north. If the Russian Government considers that the Allies intend a further advance in the north they may consider that by giving the White Finns a paper right to part of the coast, they will be forcing the Allies to fight the Finns

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instead of the Russians, and so will be making more difficult what they regard as the invasion of a "neutral country." If, on the other hand, the Russian Government were persuaded that the Allies do not intend a further advance, then their attitude with regard to White Finnish Government is likely to be stiffer, because of the presence of the Allies in such a case might become an advantage to the Russian Government instead of, as at present, a very definite threat.

For this reason, if no other, the departure of Allied diplomatic representatives at this moment is regrettable from the point of view both of the Allies and of the Russians. Their presence in Vologda was considered harmful, because of the activities directed by one Embassy in particular against the Central Soviet Government. Their presence in Moscow was considered highly desirable. The mere presence of authoritative Allied representatives, implying the possibility of agreement, would have strengthened Russia's diplomacy both with the Finns and with the Germans.

Their departure was desired only by the Germans, who will profit by the fact that they are no longer threatened by open or secret agreement with the Allies.

Helldorf's Position.

Yesterday Von Helldorf, the German diplomatic representative, arrived. He is a man of such standing in Germany that it is unlikely he would have accepted such a post unless with plenipotentiary powers. That is to say, that at the moment when the Allies are without responsible representatives in Russia Germany sends one of her best men,

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NYT, August 19, 1918, .

**Bolsheviki Fear Loss Of Siberian Supplies:
Allied Intervention May Cause Their Speedy Downfall---Germans
Depart Ukrainians.**

Stockholm, August 17.

Rumors, mostly from German sources, of the collapse of the Soviet, the evacuation of Moscow, and the flight of the Soviet leaders should be treated with extreme skepticism.

The Soviet Government is certainly weaker than it was owing partly to lack of food, partly to the moral effect of allied action in the north and the promise of intervention in Siberia, which will destroy the main hopes of the Soviet leaders, who looked to Siberia for coal with which temporarily to replace the supplies from the Donetz basin, and for gold and other materials with which to enter into economic relations with the outer world. Even so, the Soviet remains the only organized and organizing force within the country.

It is characteristic that the market at Nijni opened this year, as usual, in spite of all difficulties. A branch of the People's Bank was specially opened at Nijni to facilitate trading operations. This possibly is the origin of the rumor of the evacuation of the State bank.

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With regard to food, it is reported that the Soviet, following the advice of its peasant section, has decided to raise the fixed prices for flour, approximately tripling them. This is expected to have a tremendous effect in bringing flour to the towns, and also to have a backhanded echo on Ukraine, where knowledge of the prices to be obtained in Russia will increase the Ukrainian peasants' resentment against German requisitions.

In general the position may be stated thus: There are two main centres in European Russia--Moscow, where there is a Government Workmen and Peasants, and Kiev, which is the centre the Monarchic movement supported by the Germans.

The Workmen's Government at Moscow has against it considerable opposition in inactive political masses, who being hungry are against the Government but have nothing with which to replace it and are indifferent what King Stork will replace King Log.

The Ukraine Government has against it practically the whole working population of the towns---who, after experiencing the counterrevolution, are not looking with definite hope toward Moscow--and the great mass of peasant who, seeing their corn taken by the Germans and their land by the old land owners, are now daily laying down their lives in the struggle against the Germans and for the old reforms which left the country when the Germans drove out the Soviets.

Until recently the main tension was between these two troubled centres. There are now other grouping points in the north and east to which look all persons who hope to see the Soviets put down by other than German forces. Many of these are genuine patriots but many more who lost property and position in the revolution are less opposed to the Germans than to the Soviets, and go north by

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roundabout ways with the avowed purpose of " fighting the Bolshehviki."

The White Finns continue the shooting of workmen. They took Salminen, who commanded the Red Finns on the Bjurnberg front, from the hospital where he lay wounded alter the fighting at Tammerfors and have now shot him. The project for a monarchic institution, modeled on the Prussian Landtag, is meeting with strong opposition. The Social Democrats are taking no part in the discussion as all their newspapers have been suppressed, and most of their writers, men and women have been arrested.

Practically the whole Social Democratic Party in the Diet, ninety-two persons, are in prison or have emigrated. Three Socialist members of the Diet have been shot..

The difficulties of the Germans in Ukraine show no signs of lessening. The Germans are running trains under convoy, but are quite unable to cope .with the strikers. There are railway smashes daily. One guarded train had a locomotive bombed and destroyed after leaving in Odessa.

The resignation of the Yalta Town Council has now been followed by that of the Supply Committee both giving as reasons the impossibility of working without democratic organizations.

At Taganro the Germans have established a corn monopoly, supplying first the German soldiers, then the town's population, and exporting the remainder to Germany. The same thing is being attempted in the Don country, where, with the harvest begun, there is regular fighting between the starving unemployed and Cossack agriculturists.

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Great numbers of Ukrainian strikers have been arrested and are being sent from Kiev to concentration camps at Brest-Litovsk and Bialostok. Women and children were to be seen kissing the boots of the soldiers guarding the railway, station at Kiev and begging to be allowed to say good-bye to husbands and fathers.

Moscow's contribution to the Ukrainian strike fund is now over 115,000 rubles. Performances are being given at the Moscow National Theatre for the benefit of the strikers.

It is reported from Petrograd that the whole German Embassy, with its staff of servants, &c. reached there by special train on August 9. The members brought their automobiles on the train. These were unloaded with the baggage and taken to the Grand Hotel, where the embassy will stop until the war prisoners' organization evacuates the Yusupoff Palace, which is being prepared as a temporary embassy. It is suggested that the move has been made with a view to safety. Some of the embassy staff are to stay at Sestroretzk on the Gulf of Finland. The Finnish frontier and the German troops are only half an hour away.

DN. August 19, 1918.

Hunger And Revolt.

Moscow and Kieff the Two Storm Centers.

Stockholm, Saturday.

The rumors, mostly from German sources, of the collapse of the Soviet, the evacuation of Moscow, and the flight of the Soviet leaders, etc., should be treated with extreme skepticism. The Soviet Government is certainly weaker than it was. This is owing

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partially to lack of food, partially to the moral effect of Allied action in the north, and the promise of intervention in Siberia, which will destroy the main hopes of the Soviet leaders. They look to Siberia for coal with which temporarily to replace the supplies from the Donetz Basin and for gold and other materials with which to enter into economic relations with the outer world.

Even so, the Soviet is still the only organized and organizing force within the country. It is characteristic that the market at Nijni opened this year as usual, in spite of all difficulties, and the imminence of the Czech front. A branch of the People's Bank was specially opened at Nijni to facilitate trading operations. This possibly is the origin of the rumor of the evacuation of the State Bank.

Higher Food Prices.

With regard to food, it is reported that the Soviet, following the advice of the peasants section, has decided to raise the fixed prices for flour, approximately tripling them. This will certainly have a tremendous effect in bringing flour to the towns, and will also have a backhanded echo on the Ukraine, where a knowledge of the price is to be obtained in Russia will increase the Ukrainian peasants resentment against the German requisitions.

In general the position may be stated that: There are two main centers in European Russia – Moscow, Where there is a Government of workmen and peasants, and Kieff, which is the center of Monarchic movement, supported by the Germans. The workmen's Government at Moscow has against it considerable discontent in the inactive political masses, who being hungry, are against the Government, but have nothing with which to replace it, and are indifferent what King Stork shall replace King Log. The quasi– Monarchic Government at Kieff has in support of it

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German bayonets, and in support of them the propertied classes, who know that the departure of the German means there downfall.

Ukraine Revolt.

The Government has against it practically the whole working population of the towns – who, after experiencing the counter – revolution, now look with definite hope towards Moscow – and, the great mass of the peasants, who, seeing their corn taken by the Germans and their land by the old landowners, are now daily laying down their lives in the struggle against the Germans and for the old reforms which left the country when the Germans drove out the Soviets.

Until recently the main tension was between these two troubled centers. There are no other grouping points in the North and the East, to which look all persons who hope to see the Soviets put down by other than German forces. Many of these are genuine patriots, but many more, who have lost property and position in the revolution, are less opposed to the Germans than to the Soviets, and go north by roundabout ways, with the avowed purpose of fighting the Bolsheviks. It is these, not the English, American, or French, who give the character of a counter – revolution to the Allied action in the north and to the Czech action in the East.

German Heel In Finland.

The "White" Finns continued shooting workmen. They took Salminen, who commanded the red Finns on the Bjoruberg front, from the hospital where he lay wounded after the fighting at Tammerfors, and have now shot him. The project for monarchic institutions modeled on the Prussian Landtag is meeting with strong opposition. The Social Democrats are taking no part in the

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discussion, as all their newspapers have been closed, and most of their writers, men and women, have been arrested. Practically the whole Social Democratic Party in the Diet, 92%, are in prison or have been emigrated. Three Socialist members of the Diet have been shot.

DN. August 20, 1918.

**The Struggle For Power In Russia.
Anti— Bolshevik Plot For Today.
Soviet And Counter – Revolutionaries.**

Stockholm, Sunday.

Moscow has been full for some time of rumors that a counter – revolutionary effort is to be made about the 20th of the month. The Soviet, however, is extremely efficient in dealing with such plots, having dealt successively with the drunken pogrom plot of last winter when the enemies of the Soviet hoped to get the drunken soldiery to sack the Smolni Institute, the Headquarters of the Workmen's and Soldiers Councils, then with the Cadet plot at Moscow, then with the Left Social Revolutionary mutiny, and then the affair of Jaroslav.

This new affair has been long promised, and is spoken of as the "officers plot." Many Monarchists are said to be involved. It was postponed after the Left Social Revolutionary mutiny. The time chosen for it was to coincide with that of greatest starvation – this because such a plot would have no support among the politically conscious masses. The only hope for such plotters is to play on the unconscious masses, who might during hunger crisis be stirred up to riots, during which a coup d'état might be accomplished, and,

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if followed by wholesale shootings and terrorisation, as in Finland, might temporarily replace the Soviet Government with some scratch body, which would depend for its tenure on the immediate improvement of food conditions.

The Moscow Mutiny.

I am inclined to think it will be more difficult than the plotters imagine to get even momentarily support among the masses. The Left Social Revolutionary mutiny of six weeks ago showed with what aloofness the bulk of the population regard to such events, and how unlikely any attempted revolution is to gain serious support. Then, while part of the town was actually in the hands of the mutineers, while continual machine-gun fire was going on, while the mutineers headquarters were being bombarded by artillery, and they themselves sending shrapnel shell into the Kremlin, the people were sitting about in the sunshine. In Theater – square, close by the Kremlin, and in those parts of the town not immediately affected, it was impossible to tell, from the appearance of the streets or the demeanor of the people, that anything extraordinary was going on.

Policy Of Assassination.

People were more interested in discussing the chances of avoiding war as the result of Mirbach's death than in the fate of the mutineers, who, in seeking to provoke war, had shown how deep of gulf lay between the Left Social Revolutionary leaders, who are intellectual romantics, and the matter – of – fact peasantry whom they are supposed to represent.

This party will recover its importance not as a representative body, but as a revolutionary organization in all parts of the country where the Soviets are suppressed. It is responsible for the deaths

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of Eichhorn, Mirbach, and members of the Ukrainian Bourgeois Government, and is certain to apply the same methods to the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the Allies in the North. Its members share the tradition of the old Social Revolutionary party, which believed in revolution by assassination.

Revolutionaries Aims.

The Social Revolutionaries hope for war with Germany, believing not that war with Germany would mean anything but the further occupation of Russia, but that, by thus increasing the area of occupied and revolting territory, they would be serving the revolution as a whole better than by supporting the less sentimental, less picturesque policy of serious economic and military preparation which is favored by the Bolsheviks.

The Left Social Revolutionary watchword was "Not war, but revolt." Without constructive plans, but with a revolutionary tradition, they sought the conditions that suited the work for which they are fitted. They find such conditions in the Ukraine, and I shall be much surprised if they make any distinction between the Ukraine and North Russia. Like the Bolsheviks, they support the Soviet form of government.

Other parties of less importance at the moment are the Right Social Revolutionaries, who are fairly strong in the northern governments, and everywhere where there are many well - to - do peasants. They have no hold on the poorer peasantry or workmen, who are by far the largest class. They may be regarded as Conservatives among the Revolutionary parties and since the establishment of the Soviet Government they take the place of the old reactionaries. For the moment any assassinations which they may accomplish will be among members of the Soviet Government. They are definitely opposed to the Soviet.

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The same may be said of the Mensheviks and the group of other now more or less insignificant parties, who lost their following last year. They are now dangerous merely as a disturbing element. They busy themselves in getting resolutions from workmen opposed to the Soviet. This is very easy to do. In a mass of indifferent and hungry people there is no great difficulty in finding a population for several of Kipling's villages to vote that the earth is flat.

Position Of The Cadets.

A certain number of officers belong to the Right Social Revolutionary Party, but most to the Cadets. The Cadets now represent exclusively the landed propertied classes and the intelligent classes dependent upon the land. Cadet politics since the revolution have been as clearly dictated by the interest of the propertied classes as Soviet politics has been dictated by the interest of the non— propertied classes. They spent the first eight months of the revolution in an attempt to postpone the legalization for the passing of the land to the peasants, and consequently have no active support among the proletariat or the peasantry other than the small landowners.

The danger of an officer's revolt, should there be one, lies in the fact that many of them hold commissions in the Red Army. The Soviets mistrust of them is justified by such incidents as that of Jaroslav, where an officers serving in the Red Army handed over the Soviet guns and stores to the White Guards.

Hence, with a view to making a rising of officers impossible, all officers in Moscow were registered last week, any refusing to appear were dealt with under military law. Hence also the attempt to fill as many as possible of the posts in the new Army with non-

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– commissioned officers from the old Army. A notice has been issued by Trotsky that any such who volunteer will automatically be given officers rank.

DN. August 21, 1918.

Ferment In Russia.

Peasant Risings Against the Bolsheviks.

Czechs Retire In Serbia.

Stockholm, Monday.

A Swedish merchant just arrived from Petrograd says it is rumored that that the station of Luga, on the railway from Petrograd to Pskoff, is held by the Right Social Revolutionaries, with armed peasants led by escaped officers. There is nothing incredible in this. The rising of peasants led by parties of the Right have been the feature of other revolutions, and no one will be less surprised than the Bolsheviks, who began in the late spring this year with the policy definitely intended to create class consciousness among the peasantry, and therefore bound to embitter certain sections.

For the proper understanding of the situation it is necessary to know on what section of peasantry those who organize such risings base their hopes. All parties alike realize that on peasant support depends the future of the revolution. Consequently there is a fierce struggle to get and keep their allegiance. The representation of the peasants is claimed both by the Left and the Right Social Revolutionaries, and by the Bolsheviks. At the beginning of the revolution the determining factor in the political outlook of the peasantry was the absence of the whole of the

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younger peasantry who were in the ranks of Russia's gigantic overgrown Army. At first the older peasants and women, who alone were left in the villages, can hardly be said to have had a political outlook at all. The revolution for some time scarcely affected them.

Peasants And Politics.

The peasantry in the Army at first returned Menshevik delegates. Men on leave took something of this political coloring to the villages, which, however, soon became the field of energetic propaganda by the Right Social Revolutionaries. While in the Army Bolshevism was gaining ground and receiving enormous impetus after the July offensive and Korniloff's disastrous affair, the Social Revolutionaries were consolidating their position in the country. By this time the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets were definitely Bolshevik, and the same could be said of the whole Army, so that the October Revolution was not only possible but inevitable. However, this was the culminating period of the Right Social Revolutionaries in the country, where they had exclusively to deal with the older peasantry, who, cowed by long years of subservience to their employers, followed the lead of the more substantial peasants. Then, with the flooding back of the Russian Army to its native villages, the younger man took with them the Bolshevik coloring, which, presently, seized the whole of peasant politics, and, after the Left Social Revolutionaries broke with the Right and supported the Soviet, was illustrated in the general returning other candidates to the Soviets.

Bolshevik Hold.

This, by the time the Constituent Assembly met it no longer reflected the feeling of the peasants, because the peasantry was now strengthened by the enormous number of younger man, who

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wholeheartedly supported the Soviets. Complete demobilization increased the Bolshevik hold on the peasant population, which only later began to wane as the young men were once more absorbed into the life of the country, and came once more under the domination of the richer peasants. The non— arrival of the millennium, which some hopeful spirits had foolishly, but forgivably, expected, helped less the tendency of secession from the Bolsheviks than of secession from politics altogether.

Lenin, who had always perceived the danger of basing the revolution exclusively on the town populations in such a country as Russia, now initiated an attempt to create class consciousness among the peasants, knowing that the only success such an attempt could give the revolution was the wide basis which it needed. He said in April: "In the country of the peasants, which has just thrown off the yoke of the Czar, and only six months ago was bearing that of Kerensky, there is only too much anarchic disorder, increased by the war. Therefore, only the tenacious efforts of the workmen and conscious peasants can bring about the necessary change in the orientation of the masses, and only when the proletarians and half proletarians have made this change that the bourgeoisie and, above all, that part of the bourgeoisie which is most numerous and most tenacious in the defense of privileges, namely, the rich peasants will have been conquered."

The Kulaks.

Thence forward a new phrase entered the revolutionary vocabulary, "Kulak," meaning tight fist or rich peasant, and from that moment the revolutionary struggle reached the Russian peasantry. The Kulaks were certainly hard masters, harder by far than the larger landowners, and their authority in the villages was almost unbounded. From then on, all their influence was used against the Soviets. The famine introduced a new factor.

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It is well-known even in England that the peasants, as long ago as 1916, were burying corn. This has continued to the present day, and to the unwillingness of the peasants to give up their corn is due many of the hardships of the revolution. But the point is that only the Kulaks, or rich peasants, had corn to hide. Hence the political significance of what were known as supply detachments of armed workmen and agitators who were sent out to the country districts with the double object of taking bread from the Kulaks and showing the poorer peasantry that their interest and those of the Kulaks were opposed and not identical. In many districts this was entirely successful. In others the Kulaks succeeded in getting the poorer peasantry to resist what they represented as an attack on the peasantry as a whole. Coloring to this was often given by the misbehavior of the supply detachments.

A private telegram to the "Politiken" from Abovia Haparanda announces serious street fighting between German soldiers and Finnish civilians. This confirms the strange statement in the Finnish newspapers that the Germans in Finland have been "fighting with forces not of Russian nationality."

NYT. August 21, 1918, .

**Russian Masses Unmoved By Plots:
Attempts at Revolution Unlikely to Gain Serious Support, in Bolshevik Opinion.**

**Reds Think They Are Safe:
Composition of the Parties in Opposition and What They Are Said to Stand For.**

Stockholm, August 18.

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Moscow has been full for some time of rumors that a counter-revolutionary effort is to be made about the 20th of this month, The Soviet, however, is extremely efficient in dealing with such plots, having dealt successively with the pogrom plot of last winter, when the enemies of the Soviet hoped to get the drunken soldiery to sack Smolny. Institute, [Bolshevik headquarters,] then with the Cadet plot at Moscow, then with the Left Social Revolutionary mutiny, and then the affair of Jaroslav.

This new affair has been long promised, and is spoken of as an "officers plot." Many monarchists are said to be involved. It was postponed after the Social Revolutionary mutiny. The time chosen for it was to coincide with that of the greatest starvation, this because such a plot would have no support among the politically conscious masses. The only hope for such plotters is to play on the unconscious masses who might during a hunger crisis be stirred up to riots, in the course of which a coup d'etat might be accomplished, and, if followed by wholesale shootings and terrorization, as in Finland, might replace the Soviet Government with some scratch body which would depend for its tenure on the immediate improvement of food conditions.

Even if such a coup were successful, and if thereafter hunger were relieved, which is very unlikely, such a Government would within a very short time be in difficulties and urgently needing foreign troops with which to maintain itself.

Masses Are Indifferent.

I am inclined to think it will be more difficult than the plotters imagine to get even momentary support among the masses. The Left Social Revolutionary mutiny of six weeks ago showed with what aloofness the bulk of the population regard such events and it is unlikely any attempt at revolution is to gain serious support,

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Then, while a part of the town was actually in the hands of the mutineers, while continual machine gun fire was going on, while the mutineers' headquarters were being bombarded by artillery and they themselves were sending shrapnel shells into the Kremlin, people were sitting about in the sunshine. In the Theatre Square, close by the Kremlin, and in those parts of the town not immediately affected, it was impossible to tell from the appearance of the streets or demeanor of the people that anything extraordinary was going on. People were more interested in discussing the chances of avoiding war as the result of Mirbach's death than in the fate of the mutineers, who, in seeking to provoke war, had shown how deep a gulf lay between the Left Social Revolutionary leaders, who are intellectual romantics, and the matter-of-fact peasantry they were supposed to represent.

This party will recover its importance, not as a representative body, but as a revolutionary organization, in all parts of the country where the Soviets are suppressed. It is responsible for the deaths of Eichhorn, Mirbach, and members of the Ukrainian bourgeois Government, and is certain to apply the same methods to representatives of the bourgeoisie and Allies in the north. Its members share the tradition of the old Social Revolutionary Party, which believed in revolution by assassination. They are thus distinguished from the Bolsheviki, who have always opposed assassination as a method, believing that it merely strengthens the other side in dealing with mass revolt.

The bitterness of the Bolsheviki against the Left Social Revolutionaries over Mirbach's murder was because that act was an attempt to take the initiative out of their hands and to force on the majority a policy which is acceptable only to a small minority.

The Social Revolutionaries hoped for war with Germany, believing not that war with Germany would mean anything put further

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occupation of Russia, but that by thus increasing the area of occupied and revolting territory they would be serving the revolution, as a whole, better than by supporting the less sentimental, less picturesque policy of serious economic and military preparation which is favored by the Bolshevik! The Left Social Revolutionary watchword was, "Not war, but revolt," Without constructive plans, but with the revolutionary tradition, they sought conditions suited to the work for which they are fitted. They find such conditions in the Ukraine, and I shall be much surprised if they make any distinction between the Ukraine and North Russia. Like the Bolsheviks, they support the Soviet form of Government.

Parties of Less Importance.

Other parties, of less importance at the moment, are the Right Social Revolutionaries, who are fairly strong in the northern Governments and everywhere where they are many well-to-do peasants. They have no hold on the poorer peasantry or workmen, who are by far the largest class. They may be regarded as conservatives among the revolutionary parties, and since the establishment of the Soviet Government they take the place of the old reactionaries. For the moment, any assassinations which they may accomplish will be among the members of the Soviet Government. They are definitely opposed to the Soviet.

The same may be said of the Mensheviks and a group of other now more or less insignificant parties who lost their following last year. They are now dangerous merely as a disturbing element. . They busy themselves in getting resolutions from workmen opposed to the Soviet. This is very easy to do in the mass of indifferent and hungry people. There is no great difficulty in finding a population for several of Kipling's villages to vote that the earth is flat.

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Ever since they have been in opposition, and therefore in the best position for gaining votes, their support has decreased. When the Soviet Executive Committee voted that, since these parties were definitely opposed to the Soviet, they therefore had no right to sit in it, the Speaker pointed out that the whole of the opposition parties could sit on one chair; whereupon one of the opposition members earned immortality by replying:

"Yes, and you can get around the whole of your federated republic in Tramway No. 6 ! "

Their exclusion made no difference whatever, and their present activities are more a nuisance than a danger to the Soviet.

A certain number of officers belong to the Right Social Revolutionary Party, but most to the Cadets. "The Cadets now represent exclusively the landed and propertied classes and intelligent classes dependent upon the land. Cadet politics since the revolution have been as clearly dictated by the interests of the propertied classes as Soviet politics have been dictated by the interests of the non-propertied classes. They spent the first eight months of the revolution in an attempt to postpone legalization of the passing of the land to the peasants, and consequently have no active support among the proletariat or peasantry other than the small landowners. This party now divides its allegiance between Germany and Britain, according to the proximity of the forces to which it looks for the re-establishment of conditions in which it could recover its electoral and actual ascendancy. This party includes most of the officers who, though often describing themselves as nonpartisan, cannot, except in rare instances, be anything but unfriendly to the Soviets.

The danger of an officers' revolt, should there be one, lies in the fact that many of them hold commissions in the Red Army. The

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Soviets' mistrust of them is justified by such incidents as that of Jaroslav, where an officer serving in the Red Army handed over Soviet guns and stores to the white Guards. Hence, with a view to making the rising of officers impossible, all officers in Moscow were registered last week, any refusing to appear being dealt with under military law. Hence also the attempt to fill as many as possible of the posts in the new army with non-commissioned officers from the old army. Notice has been issued by Trotzky that officer's rank will be given automatically to any such who volunteer.

NYT. August 22, 1918,

Russian Parties Look To Peasants:

Country's Future Said to Depend on the Course They Choose to Adopt,

All Seek Their Support:

In Many Districts They Are at Present Hostile to Rule of the Bolsheviks.

London, August 21.

Petrograd correspondent of The London Daily News, who is generally recognized as the medium of communicating the views of the Bolshevik Government to the outside world, and who had been for many months the last English-speaking correspondent left in Russia, moved to Stockholm when, according to , Lenine and Trotzky retreated to Kronstad. Under Monday's date he telegraphs from Stockholm:

." A Swedish merchant just arrived from Petrograd says it is rumored there that the station of Luga on the railway from

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Petrograd to Pskov is held by Right Social Revolutionaries with armed peasants, led by escaped officers.

"There is nothing incredible in this. Risings of peasants led by parties of the Right have been a feature of other revolutions, and no one will be less surprised than the Bolsheviks, who began in the late spring of this year with a policy definitely intended to create class consciousness among the peasantry and, therefore, bound to embitter certain sections.

"For proper understanding of the situation it is necessary to know on what section of the peasantry those who organize such risings base their hopes. All parties alike realize that on peasant support depends the future of the revolution, consequently there is a fierce struggle to get and keep their allegiance. Representation of peasants is claimed both by the Left and Right Social Revolutionaries and by the Bolsheviks.

Peasantry at First Unaffected.

"At the beginning of the revolution the determining factor in the political outlook of the peasantry was the absence on the whole of the younger peasantry in the ranks of Russia's gigantic, overgrown army. At first the older peasants and the women, who alone were left in the villages, can hardly be said to have had a political outlook at all. The revolution for some time scarcely affected them. .

"The peasantry in the army at first returned Menshevist delegates and men on leave took something of this political coloring to the villages, which, however, soon became the field of energetic propaganda by the Right Social Revolutionaries, while in the army Bolshevik was gaining ground and receiving enormous impetus. After the July offensive and Korniloff's disastrous affair, the Social

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Revolutionaries were consolidating their position in the country. By this time the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets were definitely Bolshevik, and the same could be said of the whole army, so that the October revolution was not only possible but inevitable.

" However, this was the culminating period of the Right Social Revolutionaries in the country, where they had exclusively to deal with the older peasantry, who, cowed by long years of subservience to their employers, followed the lead of the more substantial peasant. Then, with the flooding back of the Russian Army to its native villages, the younger men took with them Bolshevik coloring, which presently absorbed the whole of peasant politics, and, after the Left Social Revolutionaries had broken with the Right and supported the Soviet, was illustrated in the general returning of their candidates to the Soviets.

"Thus, by the time the Constituent Assembly met, it no longer reflected the feeling of the peasants because the peasantry was now strengthened by enormous numbers of younger men, who whole-heartedly supported the Soviets. Complete demobilization increased the Bolshevik hold on a peasant population, which only latter began to wane as the young men were once more absorbed into the life of the country and came once more under the domination of the richer peasants. The non-arrival of the millennium, which some hopeful spirits had foolishly but forgivably expected, helped less the tendency of secession from the Bolsheviks than of secession from politics altogether.

Lenine Tries New Tactics.

"Lenine, who has always perceived the danger of basing the revolution exclusively on the town population in such a country as Russia, now initiated an attempt to create class consciousness among the peasants, knowing that the only success such an

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attempt could give the revolution was the wide basis which he needed. He said in April:

“ ‘In the country of peasants which has just thrown off the yoke of the Left and only six months ago was bearing that of Kerensky there is only too much of the anarchic disorder, which was increased by the war. Therefore only the tenacious efforts of the workmen and conscious peasants can bring about a necessary change in the orientation of the masses, and it is only when the proletarians and half proletarians have made this change that the bourgeoisie, and above all that part of the bourgeoisie which is most numerous and most tenacious in defence of its privileges, namely, the rich peasants, will have been conquered.’

“Thenceforward a new phrase entered the revolutionary vocabulary, ' Kulak,' meaning tight fist or rich peasant, and from that moment the revolutionary struggle reached the Russian peasantry. The Kulaks were certainly hard masters, harder by far than the larger land owners, and their authority in the villages was almost unbounded. From then on all their influence was used against the Soviets.

"But famine introduced a new factor. It is well known even in America that the peasants as long ago as 1916 were burying corn. This has continued to the present day, and to the unwillingness of the peasants to give up their corn is due many of the hardships of the revolution.

"But the point is that only the Kulaks, or rich peasants, had corn to send, hence the political significance of what were known as the supply detachments of armed workmen and agitators, who were sent out to the country districts with the double object of taking bread from the Kulaks and showing the poorer peasantry

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that their interests and those of the Kulaks were opposed and not identical.

In many districts this was entirely successful; in others the Kulaks succeeded in getting the poorer peasantry to resist what they represented as an attack on the peasantry as a whole. Coloring to this was often given by misbehavior of the supply detachments. In certain districts Right Social Revolutionaries have been able to organize the peasantry, led by Kulaks. This is easier at harvest, when the richer peasants can persuade the poorer that their bare sufficiencies are threatened as well as the stores of the Kulaks."

DN August 22, 1918.

Hunger Rioting In Petrograd.

Anti— Soviet Outbreak: 900 Arrests.

Czechs Hard Pressed.

Stockholm, Wednesday.

German sources, probably informed by part of the Embassy which remained at Petrograd, announced that last Thursday, after Petrograd had been three days without bread, hunger riots broke out in the workmen's quarters. These developed into an anti— Soviet demonstration, and an attempt was made to attack the Smolny Institute. Shouts of "Down with the Kremlin!" "Down with the Germans!" were common. The disorders were suppressed, and the town was under complete control by Friday night. 900 arrests were made and the prisoners were removed to Kronstadt.

It is possible that this is an exaggerated account made with the object of explaining and justifying before German public opinion the flight of their Embassy. It is interesting because no sane person would believe that a hungry mob would of its own accord cry out for war with Germany, or anyone else, or indeed for anything except bread. A hungry mob is a blind weapon in the hands of anyone who is lucky enough to get control of it.

Hanging Of Watchdogs.

The Petrograd riot seems an exact counterpart of several similar hunger troubles in the provincial towns, where the opposition parties have tried to excite the mob to the point of smashing the Soviet, and then proved their own inability to provide an efficient substitute. The result of a short period of anarchy has usually ended in the reestablishment of the Soviet. In one instance the Church got control of the mob; the Soviet was destroyed, whereupon the mob turned on the Church and by a strange irony, Church relics were defended by a few Jewish students. Thereafter the town was flooded with hooligans from the surrounding country; who declared simultaneously their intentions and their sense of humor by erecting one night 20 little gibbets in front of the church, and hanging the towns watchdogs, which remained, swinging as the last relics of the law and order until the subsequent reestablishment of the Soviet, when the normal life of the town was resumed and the hooligans suppressed.

Lett's And The Soviets.

The Letts, who in Petrograd prevented such a substitution of anarchy for the Soviets, have earned the hatred of all anti—Soviet

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parties by the loyalty and discipline which they have preserved throughout the revolution. Counter —revolutionary agitators now invariably join the Letts to the Jews in urging Pogroms, and the Letts know that the fall of the Soviets means their own ruin. This, however, is not the only reason why they are the most dependable troops now at Russia's command. The Letts, more deeply than any other part of the Russian population, were impregnated with the revolutionary ideas before the revolution. During the six months before the war there were no less than four general strikes in Courland, and in Riga alone as many as 80,000 strikers. These were always in the closest connection with the revolutionary movement in Riga and Petrograd.

NYT. August 23, 1918,.

Bolshevist View Of Russian Riots:

Mr. Ransome, in Stockholm, Thinks Them Exaggerated and Certain to Fail,

Soviets As Saviors Of Law:

Other Parties, He Says, Have Been Merely Able to Foment Disorders. Letts Loyal to Lenine.

London, August 22.

Arthur Ransome through whom the Bolshevist rulers of Russia have usually made their views known to the outside world, cabled the following to The Daily News from Stockholm:

" German sources, probably informed by part of the embassy which remained at Petrograd, announce that on last Thursday, after Petrograd had been three days without bread, hunger riots broke out in the workmen's quarters. These developed into an anti-

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Soviet demonstration and an attempt was made to attack the Smolny Institute. Shouts of 'Down with the Kremlin, Down with the Germans!' were common. The disorders were suppressed. and the town was under complete control by Friday night. Nine hundred arrests have been made and the prisoners removed to Kronstadt.

"It is possible that this is an exaggerated account made with the object of explaining and, justifying before German public opinion the flight of their embassy. It is interesting because no sane person would believe that a hungry mob would of its own accord cry out for war with Germany or any one, else, or, indeed, for anything except bread. A hungry mob is a blind weapon in the hands of any one who is lucky enough to get control of it. The Petrograd riots seem an exact counterpart or several similar hunger troubles in provincial towns, where the opposition parties have tried to excite the mob to the point of smashing the Soviet and then to prove their own ability to provide an efficient substitute. The result of the short period of anarchy has usually ended in the reestablishment of the Soviet.

"In one instance the Church got control of the mob. The Soviet was destroyed, whereupon the mob turned on the Church, and by a strange irony the church relics were defended by a few Jewish students. Thereafter the town was flooded with hooligans from the surrounding country, who declared simultaneously their intentions and their sense of humor by erecting one night twenty little gibbets in front of the church and hanging the town's watchdogs which remained swinging as the last relics of law and order until the subsequent re-establishment of the Soviet, when the normal life of the town was resumed and the hooligans suppressed.

"The Letts, who in Petrograd prevented such a substitution of anarchy for the Soviets, have earned the hatred all the anti-Soviet

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parties by the loyalty and discipline which they preserved throughout the revolution. Counter- revolutionary agitators now invariably join the Letts to the Jews in urging pogroms, and the Letts know that the fall of the Soviets means their own ruin.

"This, however, is not the only reason why they are the most dependable troops now at Russia's command. The Letts, more deeply than any other part of the Russian population, were Impregnated with revolutionary ideas before the revolution. During the six months before the war, there were , no less than four general strikes in Courland, and in Riga alone as many as 80,000 strikers. These were always in closest connection with the revolutionary movement in Riga and Petrograd. After the revolution they, more consciously than any other Russian troops, became revolutionary. After 1900-1907 many Letts emigrated to America for political reasons and returning last year completed the revolutionary education of the Lettish troops, who, in Russia, are talking their own language among themselves, and have great contempt for the less disciplined troops. In scores of battles in the civil war against the Czechs and against the Germans, they have shown themselves prepared to die for the Soviet, threatened on all sides."

DN. August 23, 1918.

Germans Aims In Finland.

A New King and a War at the Same Time.

British Cavalry Rout Turks In Persia.

Stockholm, Thursday.

The situation in Murman will deeply affect the solution of the intricate puzzle of conflicting national class interest in Finland. Naturally it is to Germany's advantage to force another nation to

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fight instead of herself, and her policy in Finland is to supply that little country with a king and the war simultaneously. A considerable section of the population is anxious to accept a German monarchy as a guarantee of further German help in case of need against the Labor movement. Although, after the complete suppression of the Social Democratic Party, it is just possible to snatch a vote in favor of a monarchy, there can be little doubt that a general referendum of the whole population would reject it. The Socialist are not the only party opposed to a monarchy. The Agrarian's are urging that every possible hindrance should be put in the way of the election of a king. As a result, the Agrarian newspapers have been suppressed, and two Agrarian senators have resigned.

A German Army.

However, in spite of opposition, a deputation has gone to Germany to look for a king. The same German policy is being followed here as in Turkey. A Finnish Army is being brought up under German auspices. The German Colonel von Redere, has been appointed Chief of Staff, which controls both the Army and Navy. This is resented by many, even of the White Finns, who invited the German help. In spite of ancient sympathies, it seems that many Finns will be forced to fight England.

An extraordinary situation will then be produced. The White Finns will be Allies of the Soviet Government, which they consider their most dangerous enemy. Meanwhile, the Red Finns with the Allies at Murman, will be quite logically fighting the White Finns, but, at the same time, will be fighting the Soviet Government, which, though they are not themselves Bolsheviks, is their natural hope.

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Flight From Conscription.

In regard to this, M.Usenius, the Red Finn, who represented the Finnish Socialist Government at Stockholm, says there is to be a general conference of Finnish Social Democrats and trade unionists at Moscow about August 28, which will discuss among other things the relations between Finnish and Russian Labor organizations. The possibilities are inextricable tangles, steadily multiplying.

Meanwhile, the preparation of the Finnish Army is proceeding. Every day Finns are escaping across the Gulf of Bothnia in open boats to avoid being forced into the war. Even the Aaland Islanders are being conscripted, though many of them are unable to speak Finnish. Two hundred learned the other day that they were to be shipped to Helsingfors, and only 30 presented themselves. The bulk of the remainder made their escape to Sweden in little boats one man sailing his dinghy from Aaland into Stockholm Harbor.

The Samara Revolt.

The Soviet Press prints a letter from a French Consul confirming the information I telegraphed a month ago concerning the State Government in Samara. He reports the urgent need of money , and says that Masaryk's coming was too late, and referring to the so-called Constituent Assembly Government says: "There can be no doubt that without our Czechoslovaks the Constituent Assembly could not have stood in one week.

"The Right Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks have left the Siberian Government, and are agitating against the district Duma. The Government now consists exclusively of pronounced counter – revolutionary elements, and is making for a military dictatorship. The watchword of the Constituent Assembly, under which the

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Right Socialist and the counter – revolutionaries are united for a 'honeymoon,' no longer holds. Workmen in Samara summoned to their Army by the counter – revolutionaries are now marching through the streets of the town singing revolutionary songs."

NYT. August 24, 1918,

**Many Finns Flee To Avoid War Service:
Escape to Sweden in Boats as German General Raises Army to
Fight the Allies.**

London, August 23.

[Arthur Ransome through whom Bolshevist news and views are usually expressed, sends the following dispatch to The Daily News from Stockholm]

"The situation in Murman will deeply affect the solution of the intricate puzzle of conflicting national class interests in Finland. Naturally it is to the Germans' advantage to force another nation to fight instead of herself, and her policy in Finland is to supply that little country with a King and a war simultaneously.

"A considerable section of the population is anxious to accept the German monarchy as a guarantee of further German help in case of need against the labor movement. Although, after the complete suppression of the Social Democratic Party, it is just possible, to snatch a vote in favor of the monarchy, there can be little doubt that a general referendum of the whole population would reject it. The Socialists are not the only party opposed to monarchy. The Agrarians are urging that every possible hindrance should be put in the way of the election of a King. As a result, the Agrarian

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newspapers have been suppressed, and two agrarian Senators have resigned.

"However, in spite of the opposition, a deputation has gone to Germany to look for a King.

"The same German policy is being followed here as in Turkey. The Finnish Army is being brought up under German auspices. A German Colonel, von Redern, has been appointed chief of the staff which controls both the army and the navy. This is resented by many even of the White Finns, who invited the German help.

"In spite of ancient sympathies, it seems that many Finns will be forced to fight England. An extraordinary situation will then be produced. The White Finns will be allies of the Soviet Government, which they consider their most dangerous enemy; meanwhile the Red Finns with the Allies at Murman will be quite logically fighting the White Finns, but at the same time will be fighting the Soviet Government which, though they are not themselves Bolsheviks, is their natural hope.

"In regard to this, Usenius, a Red Finn who represented the Finnish Socialist Government at Stockholm, says there is to be a general conference of Finnish Social Democrats and Trade Unionists at Moscow about August 28, which will discuss among other things the relations between the Finnish and Russian labor organizations.

"The possibilities are that the inextricable tangles are already multiplying. Meanwhile preparation of the Finnish Army is proceeding. Every day Finns are escaping across the Gulf of Bothnia in open boats to avoid being; forced into war. Even Aland Islanders are being conscripted, though many of them are unable to speak Finnish. Two hundred learned the other day that they were to be shipped to Helsingfors, and only thirty presented

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themselves. The bulk of the remainder made their escape to Sweden in little boats, one man sailing his dinghy from Aland into Stockholm Harbor."

DN. August 26. 1918.

Germans In Finland.

Red Guards Joining Forces with the Allies.

Petrograd Expecting An Air Attack.

Stockholm, Saturday.

I had a long talk today with M. Usenius, who was the official representative of the Red Finn Government at Stockholm. Usenius is a Social Democrat, a member of the Finnish Metal Workers Union, and has spent two years in America.

I asked him about the Red Finns attitude towards the Allies at Murman and towards the Soviet Republic. He said the newspaper stories here about the Finnish leader Rahja, who was alleged to have taken 10,000 Red Finns to Murman are extremely inaccurate. "Comparatively few Finns," he said, "have gone North from Petrograd, but great numbers have retreated out of Northern Finland, and escaping across the frontier after the suppression of the revolt, have joined forces with the English in the North, believing that the English could help them against the Germans and White Finns. That, of course was before the Allies had taken definite steps against the Soviet Republic. When it was clear that the Allies were opposed to the Soviet Rahja tried to withdraw the Red Finns from Murmansk. The Finnish Social Democrats at Petrograd issued a declaration that no Finns should help the Allies, who opposed the Socialist Russian Government."

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Finland & Self – Government.

I asked whether Rahja brought away many. Usenius replied: "A good number, but the majority remained, believing that only the English can help them." I asked him to define the "Red" attitude to the Soviet Government. He said: "We are convinced that no other, even the Socialist parties in Russia, should they come into power, would give Finland real self – government, and that is what we want. We are neither for the English nor for the Germans."

I then asked him what he thought of the possibility of war between the Allies and Finland. Usenius said he did not believe in it. "The Finnish Army," he said, "consists of very new men, and is not yet in a condition to be forced to do what it does not want. It does not want to fight. The food conditions in Finland are also very bad. In the North frosts ruined the potato crop and has done much damage to the corn. The position in Finland is difficult enough without war. Therefore it is unlikely that the Finns will take the initiative."

Bad Communications.

"On the other hand, the communications are so bad that a serious attempt on the part of the English to drive the Germans out of Finland is unlikely, because that would need preparations on a vast scale, and the attempt could only become serious if Petrograd were in Allied hands, so that the Allies could threaten the Southern Finnish railroad. The German object is to develop northwards to Petehenga, but I think it likely at present that they simply use the English presence as an excuse and that they want to take away the wood, of which there is a great quantity in the more southerly sections. There is, of course, a good road to Rovaniemi, but good only in certain seasons. Besides, this line runs parallel with the Murman railway, and suggests preparation on a parallel front. The

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distance between the two is very great and the country is such that it would be very difficult for large bodies of troops to get within fighting distance of each other. Also events on the Western front seem likely to make it impossible for the Germans to spare the large number of troops necessary for any serious Arctic operations."

The activity has been renewed of the Germans in the Gulf the Finland. A steamer with a safe conduct from the Germans was arrested by a German destroyer on the way to Reval and made to return to Bjorko, where it found the German battleship Kolberg and fleet trawlers. This report should perhaps be set beside one of a few days ago, when the Finnish shore batteries fired 50 shots at Russian boats mining Finnish waters near Petrograd. The feeling in Petrograd for some days has been that of expectation of a German attack. Even should there be persons in favor of inviting help from the Germans, there can be no question about the attitude of the Executive Committee, which has uncompromisingly opposed any sort of collaboration with them. The feeling of the people is extremely anti— German. A steady propaganda has been carried on by the Soviet leaders during the last six months, never losing an opportunity of explaining both the abominable and temporary character of the Brest Peace, never losing an opportunity of exposing all the misdeeds of the Germans in the Ukraine now bearing fruit, and I am informed that the Red Army which Trotsky has created is definitely anti— German.

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NYT. August 27, 1918, .

Says Trotzky Army Is Against Germans:

Ransome Also Avers Red Chiefs. Are "Uncompromisingly Opposed" to Them.

London, August 26.

Arthur Ransome who while in Russia was in the confidence of the Bolshevist leaders and was the principal medium for the transmission of their views abroad, telegraphs to The Daily News from Stockholm under date of Saturday:

"I had a long talk today with M. Usenius, who was the official representative of the Red Finn Government at Stockholm. Usenius is a Social Democrat member of the Finnish Metal Workers' Union, and spent two years in America. He, like most of the metal workers,' was opposed to the armed revolt in Finland, but bowed to the will of the majority and did not shirk the responsibility when it became inevitable. I asked him about the Red Finns' attitude toward the Allies at Murman and toward the-Soviet Republic. He said the newspaper stories here about the Finnish leader Rahja, who is alleged to have taken 10,000 Red Finns to Murman, are extremely inaccurate.

"Comparatively few Finns," he said "have gone north from Petrograd, but great numbers have retreated out of Northern Finland and are escaping across the frontier". After suppression of the revolt they have joined forces with the English in the north believing the English could help them against the Germans and White Finns. That of course, was before the Allies had taken definite steps against the Soviet Republic. When it became clear that the Allies were opposed to the Soviet. Rahja tried to withdraw

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the Red Finns from Murmansk. The Finnish Social Democrats at Petrograd issued a declaration that no Finns should help the Allies, who opposed the Socialist Russian Government.'

"I asked whether Rahja brought away many. Usenius replied: "A good number, but the majority remained, believing that only the English can help them."

"Red" Finn Means Bolshevik.

"I asked him to define the ' Red ' attitude to the Soviet Government. He said:

" We can be convinced that no other, even the Socialist parties in Russia should they come to power, would have given Finland real self-government, and that is what we want. We are neither for the English nor for the Germans.'

"I next referred to a conversation I had with Tokoi, the Finnish leader in Moscow when Tokoi emphasized the fact that the Red Finns were for the Bolsheviks. Usenius replied:

"That is so, and Tokoi, an older man, finds it more difficult to sympathize with the doings of the Extreme Left."

He then referred to Akselrod's and Roussanoff's proposal to send an International Commission of Inquiry to investigate the doings of the Bolsheviks. He said the Swedish Social Democrats were agreed on condition that all other parties should take part. He complained that they did not say how many or what countries were to be represented, and added that the scheme, in any case, was wrong, because it began by assuming that the prisoner was guilty.

"Our business as Socialists is to help, not to criticize" he added.

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"That sentence, I think pretty, well expresses the attitude of the Finnish Reds toward the Russian Republic. I then asked him what he thought of the possibility of war between the Allies and Finland. Usenius said he did not believe in it.

Doubts Finnish Army Will Fight.

"The Finnish Army," he said, "consists of very few men, and they are not yet in condition to be forced to do what it does not want. It does not want to fight. Food conditions in Finland also are bad. In the north. frosts have ruined the potato crop, and done much damage to corn. The position in Finland is difficult enough without war. Therefore, it is unlikely that the Finns will take any initiative.

"On the other hand, the communications are so bad that any serious attempt on the part of the English to drive the Germans out of Finland is unlikely, because that would need preparations on a vast scale, and the attempt could only become serious if Petrograd were in Allied hands, so that the Allies could threaten the southern Finnish Railroad."

"I asked what he thought of the possibilities of German initiative, and if he knew of their preparations north of the Gulf of Bothnia, where they made a regular base of the harbor at Kemi, near Torneo, and at the old railhead at Rovaniemi, whence it is reported they constructed a railway running to Lake Enare. He said:

German Plan and Difficulties.

" We have no precise information on that. We do not know what sort of a railway has been made, but we do know that the snows are such that in winter it is almost impossible to keep it clear. The German object is to develop northward to Petchenga, but I think it

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likely at present that they will simply use the English presence as an excuse that they want to take away wood, of which there is a great quantity.

"In the more southerly sections there is, of course, a good road to Rovaniemi and Onari; It is good only in certain seasons. Besides this line runs parallel with the Murman Railway, and suggests preparation on parallel front. The distance between, the two is very great, and the country is such that it would be very difficult for large bodies of troops to get within fighting distance of each other. Also events on the western front seem likely to make it impossible for the Germans to spare a large number of troops necessary for any serious arctic operations.

"Hence, perhaps, the German urgency in trying to force on the preparation of the Finnish Army. They are even going so far as to issue Finnish newspapers with the object of the Prussianization of Finland and the creation of a military spirit. I have myself seen selections from, this propaganda, some of which consist of an elementary kind of essay on the perfect soldier."

I asked Usenius what attitude the Reds would take in case, in spite of all, there should be war. He said that if many Social Democrats were forced into the Finnish Army they would probably be neutral. I asked whether there was any probability of a fresh Red rebellion. He said:

"None whatever while the Germans are in Finland; unless there is a German revolution. Then probably the Reds would return from Russia and find help actually in the new Finnish Army, which contains many conscripts who are unsympathetic with the Whites and openly say they would be glad to learn the use of arms because of future possibilities."

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Germans Active in Gulf of Finland.

"Activity has been renewed by the Germans in the Gulf of Finland. A steamer with a safe conduct from the Germans was arrested by a German destroyer on the way to Reval and made to return to Bjorko, where it found the German battleship Kolberg and a fleet of trawlers. This should perhaps be set beside one of a few days ago, when the Finnish shore batteries fired fifty shots at Russian boats that were mining the Finnish waters near Petrograd. The feeling in Petrograd for some days has been that of expectation of a German attack.

Even should there be persons in favor of inviting help from the Germans, there can be no question about the attitude of the Executive Committee, which has uncompromisingly opposed any sort of collaboration with them.

The feeling of the people is extremely anti-German. Steady propaganda has been carried on by the Soviet leaders during the last six months, never losing an opportunity of explaining both the abominable and temporary character of the Brest-Litovsk peace and never losing an opportunity of exposing all the misdeeds of the Germans in the Ukraine, which are now bearing fruit; and I am definitely informed that the Red army which Trotsky has created is definitely anti-German.

DN. August 27, 1918.

Russian Chaos.

Ukraine Peasants Fighting Against the Germans.

Stockholm, Sunday.

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On August 10 Boris Donskoi, the assassin of Marshall von Eichhorn, was sentenced and hanged. The execution was carried out on public gallows erected in Lukianovskaya square, which was guarded by German infantry and artillery. Donskoi, who was brought under a strong convoy, behaved with firmness, and refused to be bound or blindfolded. The Germans took photographs of the execution. I have seen picture postcards issued by the Germans illustrating the hanging of Hungarian and Austrian prisoners captured by them after fighting in the Soviet army. These methods are not availing to check the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine.

Peasant Army.

It is reported to the Petrograd "Pravda" that a peasant army of nearly 40,000 is fighting combined German and Ukrainian national troops near Skvira. The railway strike continues. A Russian bourgeois returned from Kieff reports that Bolshevism is growing. The moment German troops leave any district the workmen leave the factories, and the railways are damaged by peasants who organize resistance. He laments the unfortunate fate of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, who, he says, are between the frying pan and the fire, since they resent the assumption of all authority by the Germans, and know that if the German go, they will be immediately replaced by the Soviets. He says that both the bourgeoisie and the population generally favor reunion with Russia, of course under different conditions. Separatism has practically disappeared, except among the Galician's visiting Kieff.

Austrian Crisis.

With regard to Austria, the same bourgeois reports that the situation is critical, the internal chaos and the conditions of the

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Army reminding him very much of the state of Russia immediately before the revolution. The desertion from all fronts is turning into a class movement to the rear which nothing can stop. This is confirmed from the more intimate knowledge of Russian prisoners, who are making their way out of Austria. They say that the soldiers are pouring back from the Italian front starving, selling their equipment, and even their bayonets to the peasants in exchange for something to eat. The sympathy of the peasants is with the soldiery. They themselves are exasperated by the desperate policy of requisitions. They hide what they have, and resist the police in their efforts to unearth their supplies.

NYT. August 28, 1918,

**Depicts Russia As Hating Germans:
Hangings, Assassinations, and Revolts Still the Conditions There.**

London, August 27.

[Arthur Ransome, who records events in Russia, from the Bolsheviki point of view, telegraphs to The London Daily News from Stockholm under date of Sunday:]

On August 10 Boris Donskoi, assassin of the German Field Marshal von Eichhorn, was sentenced and hanged. The execution was carried out on a public gallows erected in Lukianovskaya Square, which was guarded by German infantry and artillery. Donskoi, who was brought under strong convoy, behaved with firmness. He refused to be bound or blindfolded. The Germans took photographs of the execution. I have seen picture postcards issued by the Germans illustrating the hanging of Hungarian and Austrian

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prisoners captured by them after fighting in the Soviet Army [against the Germans.]

"These methods are not availing to check the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine. It is reported in the Petrograd Pravda that a peasant army of nearly 44,000 is fighting combined German and Ukrainian national troops near the Skvira Railway. The strike continues.

"A Russian bourgeois, returned from Kiev, reports that Bolshevism is growing. The moment the German troops leave any district the workmen leave the factories, and railways are damaged by the peasants, who organize resistance. He laments the unfortunate fate of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, who, he says, are between the frying pan and the fire, since they resent the assumption of all authority by the Germans, and know if the Germans go they will immediately be replaced by the Soviets.

"He says both the bourgeoisie and the population generally favor a reunion with Russia, of course under different conditions. Separatism has practically disappeared, except among the Galicians visiting Kiev. The Germans only succeeded in getting one-eighth of the corn promised by the Brest-Litovsk peace. On the other hand, the Germans have been unable to supply the Ukraine with the manufactures most needed, and the Ukraine has agreed to supply Russia with sugar. An arrangement is being made whereby the; Ukraine is to give Russia 6,000,000 to 9,000,000 pounds of flour in exchange for textiles.

"In White Russia conditions are like these in the Ukraine. The police guards appointed are the old well-hated officials of the régime of the Czars. The feeling of the people is so bitter that many of the police bolted, fearing an immediate rising and not trusting the Germans to keep sufficient force to defend them, all young

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soldiers having been taken for the western front. In Livonia, the German chief local authority, von Zeibush, was wounded by several shots at Renneburg near Wenden. He has since died. The murderer escaped, and the Germans fined the district 50,000 marks.

"These conditions are reflected in recurrent disorders among the German soldiers in the occupied provinces. Thus recently a division at Kherson refused to obey orders, and a regiment at Borisevo killed two of its officers and wounded others before the mutiny was suppressed by fresh troops."

DN. August 28, 1918.

Finland & The Allies.

Manoeuvres of the Russian Bourgeoisie.

Stockholm, Tuesday.

A deputation, probably German organized, which went from far Karelia to Finland to offer its country to the Finns found itself extremely unpopular on returning home. One of its members was killed and others have had to leave their houses. The Olonets frontier is guarded by Red and frontier guards, and any attempt at accepting the offers of the local bourgeoisie will be resisted.

The "Helsinkin Sanomat" says there will be small danger of war between Finland and the Entente if an agreement is reached between Finland and Russia. It asks for Swedish and Russian negotiations with regards to other debatable points, and says there is no longer any reason for Sweden to fear the Aaland Islands, since Finland is not likely to fortify them.

The Karelian-Finnish offer is a mere repetition of history which is already dull with repetition, bourgeois groups, first in the Ukraine, then in the Don district, and then in the Caucasus, offering their country as a whole to a foreign Power with a view to saving their own position from a majority restless beneath them.

Owing to indifferentism and to discontent against the existing Governments, invaders coming in answer to such invitations find the way easy at first, only afterwards do they find their welcome easy to outstay. The Ukraine, of course, is the first example. Nor can the opposition of the population be put down exclusively to requisitions by the Germans, since in the Urals, where the Czechs and counter – revolutionaries at first found things easy and the population almost ready to support them, they are now finding their position threatened as much from upheavals within as by military pressure from without. They have now been in possession long enough for the population to turn against them.

So far, in every district of Russia where the attempt has been made, the population does turn against any who try to restore the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. The Czechs who are not themselves counter – revolutionaries, are now suffering for the deeds of those who profited by their presence to seize power and succeeded in demonstrating that counter – revolution cannot be arrested halfway, and that coalitions with the bourgeoisie tend swiftly so far to the Right as to re-create a revolutionary movement beneath them.

A Dangerous Plot.

Meanwhile, by the suppression of the officers plot, which was the most serious attempt yet prepared at counter – revolution from within, the Soviet has strengthened itself even in a moment when

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few of the best troops are in the capitals, since the Soviet Republic is being compelled to use its half – formed army to defend itself on three sides while guarding a fourth.

As I close this telegram I learn from a fairly reliable source that the split anticipated has taken place among the leaders of the Red Finns, and that Tokoi disagrees with Sirole as to the attitude to be taken by the Red Finns. I am told that Tokoi is at Murman persuading the Red Finns to remain with the Allies, whereas the Committee of the Finnish Social – Democratic Party has declared that they will be traitors if they assist the Allies against the Soviet Republic.

NYT. August 29, 1918,

Threat To Destroy Oil Wells Of Baku:

Tchitcherin Says Reds There Will Act if Turks Force Town to Surrender.

London, August 28

Arthur Ransome who describes events in Russia from the Bolshevik point of view, telegraphs to The London Daily News from Stockholm under date of August 26 and 27:

With regards to Tschitcherin's bitter protest to the Germans against allowing the Turks to break the guarantees given by Germany, which they are doing by their continued advance on Baku, it should be remembered not only that the Armenians but the whole world have much at stake there.

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Tchitcherin speaks of a possible catastrophe if Shevket Pasha, who is urging the Mohammedans in Baku to seize the town and is himself advancing with that object, should make the fall of Baku inevitable. This would mean that there would not only be a massacre of Armenians on an enormous scale, but also the loss to the world of the Baku oil wells.

The Soviet defenders of Baku intend to destroy the oil wells if they are forced to surrender. The Germans, knowing this, some time ago made an ingenious attempt to obtain the oil wells by diplomatic means, sending two German experts on a, flying machine to Baku with power to enter into a treaty with the Baku public. The Baku Soviet arrested both, and sent them by roundabouts ways to Moscow, saying that all negotiations with foreign powers must go through that centre. I saw them there myself when they were released from the headquarters of the committee organized for the counterrevolution to which, by misapprehension, they had been delivered.

The deputation, probably German organized, which went from far Karelia to Finland to offer its country to the Finns, found itself extremely unpopular on returning home. One of its members was killed, and the others had to leave their houses. The Olonetz frontier is guarded by Red frontier guards, and any attempts at accepting the offers of the local bourgeoisie will be resisted.

The Karelian-Finnish offer is a mere repetition of history, which is already dull with the repetition of the bourgeoisie groups, first in the Ukraine, then in the Don district, and then in the Caucasus, offering their country as a whole to a foreign power, with a view to saving their own position from a majority of the restless mass beneath them.

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Owing to indifferentism, and to the discontent against the existing Governments, invaders, coming in answer to such invitations, find the way easy at first. Only afterward do they find their welcome easy to outstay. The Ukraine, of course, is the first example, nor can the opposition of the population be put down exclusively to the requisitions by the Germans, since in the Urals, where the Czechs and counter-revolutionaries at first found things easy and the population almost ready to support them, they now are finding their position threatened as much from the upheavals within as by military pressure from without. They have now been in possession long enough for the population to turn against them.

So far, in every district of Russia where attempts have been made, the population does turn against any who try to restore the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie. The Czechs, who are not themselves counter-revolutionaries, are now suffering for the deeds of those who profited by their presence to seize the power, and succeeded in demonstrating that a counter-revolution cannot be arrested half way and that coalitions with the bourgeoisie tend swiftly so far to the right as to recreate a revolutionary movement beneath them.

Meanwhile, by the suppression of the officers' plot, which was the most serious attempt yet prepared at the counter-revolution from within, the Soviet has strengthened itself, even at the moment when the feet of its best troops are in the capitals, since the Soviet republic is being compelled to use its half-formed army to defend it-self on three sides, while guarding a fourth.

“As I close this telegram, I learn from a fairly reliable source that the split anticipated has taken place among the leaders of the Red Finns, and that Tokoi disagrees with Siralo as to the attitude to be taken by the Red Finns. I am told that Tokoi is at Murman, persuading the Red Finns to remain with the Allies, whereas a

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committee of the Finnish Social Democratic Party has declared they will be traitors if they assist the Allies against the Soviet republic."

DN. August 30, 1918.

Soviets Take Merv.

Germans and the Cotton Fields of the East.

Stockholm, Thursday.

The Soviet reports that after two days hard fighting an English flotilla on the Dvina (South of Archangel) retired. The Moscow papers consider the doings of the Allies in the North as merely a preliminary reconnaissance.

On other fronts further Soviet advances against the Czechoslovaks and the counter – revolutionaries are reported.

M. Trotsky points out that the Allies are informed by their own agents as to the truth of the armed prisoner reports from Siberia, where Hungarians and other Socialist of the Central Empires are fighting for the Soviets. They are small in numbers, he says, and all know that they will be hanged if captured by the Germans, as has been proved already, when they fought against the Germans in the Ukraine.

Most interesting, however, are the reports from the Caucasus and Central Asia. The Socialist Government of Georgia, under the presidency of M. Jordania, invited German help against the Soviets. Recently German officers, with General von Kress at their hand, interviewed Jordania on the subject in open hostility of the population. Von Kress said that Germany had nothing against Georgia having a Socialist Government if she wanted it, and

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generally had no intention of interfering in George's internal affairs. Jordania replied that in that case discontent with the Germans was merely due to misunderstanding.

These courtesies, however, had no effect on the popular feeling against both Jordania and the Germans. The discontent has now taken a violent form, and Georgia is disputed by three separate armed groups. German troops are, apparently, acting independently of regular troops of the Georgian Government, and both these are opposed by Red Guards.

Rival Of Bagdad.

Central Asian Soviet troops, who hold the whole of Semiretehensk district, have taken Merv, near the Persian frontier. Merv once rivaled Bagdad as one of the oldest cities in the world, and is the center of an important cotton district.

Germany's steady diplomatic advance in the South – East, encouraging now one, now another, small group to declare itself an independent nation, has a definite plan of using the Nationalist tendencies of propertied minorities to extend German influence towards the cotton fields of the East, where, as seems probable, Eastern nationalism will meet its most dangerous enemy in the new political awakening of the masses.

I hear from Moscow that the position of the Soviet has been strengthen by a easing of the food difficulties. An educational Congress is looking cheerfully into the distant future, having plans for the general education of the workers. The history of Socialism will be an obligatory subject, besides the music, handicraft, and physical exercises.

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Russia And Finland.

Stockholm, Wednesday.

The Finnish – Russian peace negotiations have been broken off, owing to inability to come to an agreement. This means that the Germans have not exerted their influence to reduce the Finnish demands. The negotiations have ended in nothing. They are described as "premature," and may be renewed later.

Meanwhile it is significant that M. Castren the Finnish Minister for Internal Affairs, has issued a statement to the editors of the Finnish newspapers, in which he says: "In the matter of foreign politics, newspapers should avoid everything that might render difficult the preservation of Finland's neutrality."

It is suspected that a number of Russian soldiers and sailors are still in Finland, and special measures are being taken for their detection and ejection.

The story of the ex-Swedish bandmaster of the Tsaritzza and her family having spent the whole summer in the Crimea, and of the Czar living under German protection, appears to be a gigantic spoof. Russia has had more than one false Dimitri in her history, but I do not think that the efforts of the German bandmaster are likely to create a credible legend of a false Nikolai.

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NYT. August 31, 1918,

[This is Ransome's final dispatch to the New York Times]

**Say English Flotilla On Dvina Has Retired:
Bolsheviki Also Report Advance of Reds on. Other Front Against
Czech Forces.**

London, August 30.

The London Daily News publishes the following dispatch from Arthur Ransoms, its pro-Bolshevist correspondent, who has left Russia and telegraphs from Stockholm under date of August 29.

The Soviet reports that, after two days' hard fighting, the English flotilla on the Dvina, south of Archangel, has retired. Moscow papers consider the doings of the Allies in the north as merely a preliminary reconnaissance.

On the other fronts further Soviet advances against the Czechoslovaks and counter-revolutionaries are reported by Trotzky, who points out that the Allies are informed by their own agents as to the truth of the armed prisoner reports from Siberia. Hungarians, and other socialists of the Central Empires, he says, are there fighting for the Soviets! They are small in numbers, and all know they will be hanged if captured by the Germans, as has been proved already when they fought against Germans in the Ukraine.

Most interesting, however, are the reports from the Caucasus and Central Asia. The Socialist Government of Georgia, under the Presidency of M.Jordania invited German help against the Soviets. Recently German officers, with General van Kress at their head,

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interviewed Jordania on the subject of the open hostility of the population.

Kress said Germany had nothing against Georgia having a Socialist Government if she wanted it, and generally had no intention of interfering in Georgia's internal affairs. Jordania replied that in that case the discontent with the Germans was merely due to a misunderstanding.

These courtesies, however, had no effect on the popular feeling against both Germans and Jordania. The discontent now has taken a violent form, and Georgia is disputed by three separate armed groups. German troops are apparently acting independently of the regular troops of the Georgian Government, and both these are opposed by the Red Guards.

The Central Asia Soviet troops, who hold the whole Seirechensk district, have taken Mery, near the Persian frontier. Mery once rivaled Bagdad as one of the oldest cities in the world, and is the centre of an important cotton district.

Germany's steady diplomatic advance in the southeast, encouraging now one, now another. small group to declare itself an independent nation, has the definite plan of using the Nationalist tendencies to extend German influence toward the cotton fields of the East, whereas it seems probable that Eastern Nationalism will meet its most dangerous enemy in the new political awakening of the masses.

I hear from Moscow that the position of the Soviet has been strengthened by the easing of the food difficulties. The Educational Congress is looking cheerfully into the distant future, laying plans for the general education of the workers. The history

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of Socialism will be an obligatory subject, besides music, handicrafts, and physical exercises."

DN. September 3, 1918.

Bolshevik Threat.

Assassination as a Weapon of Party Politics.

Stockholm, Monday.

A telegram from Moscow reports the continued improvement of Lenin.

M. Sverdloff, President of the Executive Committee of the Soviets, has repeated the idiotic statement made after the murder of Count Mirbach, saying that probably the Allies were behind in the attempt on Lenin. I do not think the accusation will have any serious results, and this suggestion of mass terror which accompanied it means nothing because there can be no such thing unless the mass feels inclined to terrorize which it does not. These phrases are an integral part of the revolutionary vocabulary, and not to be taken literally.

The most interesting comment comes from Germany. "Vorwarte," after saying: "We have always cautioned against the identification of Russia with the present Bolshevik regime," suggests that the attempt against Lenin should be a warning to German diplomacy. This is, it says, an illustration of the natural solidarity of the non-Bolshevik Socialist, of whatever nationality, against the Bolshevik Socialist. The hostility between these two kinds of Socialist, as we have plenty of opportunity of observing, is more better than that between the rival military camps. It also illustrates the misjudgment of conditions in Russia. Assassination is not a

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weapon of Russia against the Bolshevik Government in particular. Persuasion by assassination has returned to Russia as a regular weapon of party politics.

Political feeling runs far higher among politicians than in the mass of the people, and each party is coming to the point where it considers all others as enemies of God and man. Whatever Government may be in power, the members will be subject to such attempts. This applies to all representatives of authority, whether Russian or foreign. The Right Social Revolutionaries will bomb the Bolsheviks. The Left Social Revolutionaries will bomb the German diplomats or Allied diplomats should these take their place. The Bolsheviks themselves are debarred by principles from this form of politics. But in no case will assassination be the expression of the people's will. It will always be the expression of some small inner gang of determined politicians.

DN. September 4, 1918.

**German Grip On Bolsheviks.
Effect of Intervention by the Allies.**

Stockholm, Saturday.

Armed intervention in Russia has a double effect. On the one hand, It provides rallying points for the Russian minorities willing to fight under Allied protection against the Soviet Government. On the other hand, it definitely weakens the Soviet in Russia in the dealings with the Central Empires.

Until the final break with the Allies Russia had a hope of obtaining help from America, and a less confident hope that England would follow America's example. This hoped for help was to be

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economic, and, as the Germans well knew could, in case of need, be preliminary to military help against Germany. The break with the Allies was consequently extremely undesirable from the point of view of Soviet Russia, and desirable from the point of view of Germany.

A German Monopoly.

But help is needed not less than before, and, as before, this help must be economic, and may be military. Russia can only turn to Germany, who now, with regard to Soviet Russia, is in the position of holding the world's monopoly of possible help. Germany, perfectly conscious of this, has lost no time in making the Russians feel the disadvantages of the new position.

The additional clauses to the Brest peace treaty, though yet unratified by either Germany or Russia, suggest the attitude towards his customer of the tobacconist who possesses the only box of matches left in the world. He knows that the customer needs matches, and as a preliminary to the sale of matches is forcing on the unwilling buyer a large collection of very undesirable irrelevancies.

Another Party Split.

The balance of power in Russia is now definitely tilted in Germany's direction. The latest news from Russia announces that the split in the Left Social Revolutionaries has taken definite form in the creation of a new party, which refuses to break up the Brest peace "at a moment when a new war with Germany would destroy the revolution." This new party calls itself Narodniki Communist. Narodniki (men of the people) was the old name of a party which in the early history of the revolution preceded the Social Revolutionaries. These "peoples communist" support the Soviet

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Government, and are willing again to take responsible posts. The Soviet Government is thereby strengthen. Bolshevik criticism is that the party is not necessary, since nothing distinguishes the views from their own but agrees that the collaboration will be useful in hastening political consciousness in the villages.

**Bolshevik Faith.
Stockholm, Monday.**

A leading article by M. Radek in the "Izvestia," telegraphed from Moscow considers the murder of M. Uritzky and the attempt on Lenin in relation to the general situation. It says they prove the despair of the internal enemies of the Soviet Government. "Before the Allies succeed in collecting their strength, if indeed they do so, the Red Army, having learnt the art of war by many battles, will stand before them as a steel wall to defend the workers and peasants of Russia. Not the strongest invasion will then be able to overthrow us. Knowing this, the Imperialist are in despair. Not we, nor our children, says Professor Pilenko, that old defender of the Czar's regime, will be able to finish with Bolshevism."

DN. September 7, 1918.

**Captain Cromie's Murder.
Bolshevik Allegations of Counter – Revolutionary Plot.**

Stockholm, Friday.

An agency telegram, quoting from the Moscow "Pravda," gives full details of the search at the British Embassy which resulted in the death of Captain Cromie and three of the searchers. This telegram contains one very remarkable statement. It says that about 40

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persons were arrested in the Embassy. Among the arrested was Prince Shakovskoi, who of course, from the point of view of the Soviet, is an extreme counter – revolutionary. His presence there was quite enough to justify the suspicions of the Soviet that some sort of dealings were going on with the anti– Soviet parties, and the presence of so many persons in the Embassy from the Soviet point of view is so much more circumstantial evidence.

Lunatic as the alleged plot seems, and still more lunatic as seen the alleged behavior of the alleged plotters, it is evident that the Soviet Secret Service had something to go on, and it is highly regrettable that they should have had anything at all.

The Soviet declares that Mr. Lockhart, the British representative began negotiations with the Lettish commander, who reported them to the Soviet, and was by them ordered to allow the negotiations to continue. They publish, further, figures of money spent, or to be spent. The result was a search at the Embassy and the death of one of the best Englishmen who ever worked in Russia, a man who had the sympathy and imagination to understand and work with Soviet authorities, and the last man in the world whom the Soviet would wish to kill. Unless carefully handled by both sides, this tragic affair may have a terrible result in mutual reprisals. I knew Captain Cromie only slightly, but enough to value him as one of the most heroic and straightest thinking man I ever met, and that is the opinion of him I have heard expressed by Russians, both Soviet officials and men who know him in command of the submarine squadron.

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DN. September 10, 1918.

Starvation And Terror

Wholesale Murders And Executions in Russia.

"The Verge Of Delirium."

Stockholm, Sunday.

Half a dozen items in today's news taken at random illustrate with terrible clarity the present position of the Soviet Government in Russia. The Soviet revolution is being slowly and surely tortured to death by starvation. Such happenings as peasant uprising, reported from Nijni Novgorod and Tula, east and south of Moscow, and the armed dispersal of an anti-Soviet open meeting in a Moscow suburb, do not, however, signify conscious patriotic revolts. They are rather the terrible blind gestures of the starving revolution turning at its own flesh.

Starvation in the towns accentuates the conflict between town and country. Wherever there is a considerable proportion of propertied peasants there is the possible nucleus round which discontent gathers, and from which discontent revives the directive force against the Soviet. Discontent, blind, groping, and angry, asks for food and peace, but seeks dimly any change, although no possible change can put an immediate end to starvation, or do more than change one war for another.

Desperate Men.

Men grow desperate as death struts the streets so openly that for both sides he has lost his old solemnity. The Bolsheviks, knowing that with them will go down what intellect remains – leaving the revolution to the wild tossing's of instinct until it is finally taken in hand and suppressed by a power from without – take less and less

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account of individual lives in what they regard as the sacred attempt of the brain to keep command of the sick body on the verge of delirium. They know their own lives are not at stake, because it is impossible to stake anything the loss of which is inevitable.

M. Radek, who is the enemy of no man on earth, except Imperialism in general, and German Imperialism in particular, a learned, ingenious, brilliant talker and writer, whose proper place is the library in some University town, was offered safe asylum with the words: "When this story is over." He replied: "Stories like this end like Hamlet. Men do not come alive out of them." Now I learn his name heads the list of Soviet leaders set down for murder by their opponents. Murder on one side meets with executions on the other.

And while this bloody drama is being played in the towns the dreadful search for food continues. All of the restaurants in Moscow were closed. Scraps of salt fish and other substitutes are being given in place of a bread allowance. Czechs, Cossacks, and Germans bar the roads to natural food supplies. The enemies of the Soviet within the country are working on the old terrible Russian political proverb "The worst it is the better it is." They blow up bridges, organize disorders, hampering the distribution of such food as the Soviet possesses. And from a desperate Government struggling to keep control the Germans bring money while they can 245 tons of fine gold that is the Germans estimate of what the starving people can be forced to pay. Or, perhaps, it is an estimate of what they cannot pay, with the idea that non-payment will strengthen Germany's hold on her unfortunate debtors.

In spite of all this, Americans arriving yesterday from Russia said there can be no doubt that the Soviet is still the only organization

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in Russia with real strength, that there is nothing to replace it, and that they do not foresee its immediate downfall

DN September 12, 1918.

Food Doles In Russia.

Soviet Struggle with Starvation.

Rations In Categories.

Stockholm, Wednesday.

Moscow, like Petrograd, is forced by starvation to divide its population into four categories for the receipt of food according to their needs. Each category receives tickets of a special color, entitling the members to receive food in the following proportions: First category, 200%; second category, 150%; third, 100%; fourth, 50%.

The first category includes workers doing heavy manual labor under difficult conditions or injurious to health and manual workers in infectious disease hospitals. The second category includes workers doing heavy manual labor under normal conditions, instructors, etc., not doing heavy manual labor but working under injurious conditions, doctors, nurses in infectious disease hospitals, manual workers in asylums, militia, firemen, sweeps, bathmen, housewives with families not less than four and without servants, and children aged from 3 to 14.

Those Who Suffer Most.

The third category includes workers doing light physical labor under favorable conditions, clerks, household servants, barbers, teachers, doctors in institutions, tailors, dressmakers, cabmen,

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newspaper sellers, musicians, and all the rest of the population doing definite work of public significance, housewives with families less than four, children under three, lads and lasses between 14 and 17, and unemployed on the books of the Labor Bureau.

The fourth category includes persons living on their incomes from capital, rents, or other possessions, owners of hotels and other commercial enterprises, shopkeepers, peddlars, clergy, jurists, engineers not manual laborers, artists, writers, journalists, architects, midwives, and others of the free professions not in the public service. These suffer most because categories one and two are to be served first; then the third category, and only after the first three categories have been satisfied will the fourth the given supplies "in so far as that is possible."

Soviet Occupies Kazan.

On the night of the 9th Soviet troops made their way into the suburbs of Kazan. Kazan was definitely taken by the Soviet yesterday.

On September 7 the Crimean Government declared its independence, and began negotiation with the Ukraine. A Tartar Parliament was also opened at Simferopol.

The most important news from Russia is the summoning of the general assembly of Don Cossacks with the object of "putting an end to the treachery of General Krasnoff and his followers." And the reestablishment of firm democratic rule in the Don country. The Central Soviet Government, in an order signed by Trotsky and other Ministers have declared that there shall be a general War Council of Don Cossacks, which shall have full power and be composed of representatives of the working classes of the town

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and country districts, excluding officers and landowners. This is taken – in connection with the secession of four Cossacks it regiments to the Soviet side – as indicating that the tide has turned in the South, and that the Soviet will once more find friendly States between itself and the Caucasus.

DN. September 19, 1918.

Bolshevik Doctrine.

Lenin's "Use" of Imperialism.

A Candid Letter.

Stockholm, Tuesday.

Shortly before his attempted assassination Lenin signed an appeal to American workmen, in which in a significant passage he explains why he considers Bolshevik principles allow an appeal for help either from the Allies or from the Germans.

"When," Lenin says, "the bandits of German Imperialism in February 1918, led their troops against Russia, which was without defense and had immobilized her Army, having trust in the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international Revolution was yet fully ripe, then I did not hesitate for a moment in entering into a certain agreement with French Monarchist. The French Captain Sadoul, in words a sympathizer with the Bolsheviks but in deeds faithfully and truly serving French Imperialism brought to me the French officer De Lubersac, a Monarchist, he said, whose only object was to defeat Germans. That did not in the least hinder me from coming to an agreement with Lubersac on the subject of the services which French officers, specialist in explosive, were ready to render us in blowing up the railways with a view to hindering the German advance. That

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was the form of agreement which every conscious workman would approve as an agreement made in the interest of Socialism.

A Legitimate Manoeuvre.

"The Frenchman and I shook hands, knowing that each one of us would willingly hang his partner. But our interest temporarily coincided. Against the advancing German plunderers we, in the interest of the Russian and the International Socialist Revolution, made use of the no less plunderers counter – interests of other Imperialist. We in this way served the interest of the working – class of Russia and other countries, strengthened the proletariat, and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world. We made use of a maneuver legitimate and essential in every kind of war, attacking or retreating while waiting for the moment when the swiftly ripening proletarian revolution in a series of advanced countries would be mature.

"And however may rage the sharks of Anglo – French and American Imperialism, however much they libel us, however many millions they may spend winding up the right of the Social Revolutionary, Mensheviks, and other social patriotic newspapers, not for one second shall I hesitate to conclude just such an agreement with the bandits of German Imperialism in case an advance against Russia on the part of the Anglo – French troops makes that advisable."

DN. September 20, 1918.

Finland Asks For More.

German Influence on Audacious Claim.

Soviet Russia And The Brest Treaty

Stockholm, Thursday.

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It is reported from Helsingfors that the educated classes of Ingermanland contemplate an appeal to the Finnish Government for the inclusion of Ingermanland in Finland or the cultural autonomy of Ingermanland. The comedy of this consists in its audacity. Ingermanland includes the whole Petrograd Government, and with a little stretching would extend from Ladoga to Lake Paipus.

It is remarkable how quickly little Governments supported by Germany to Russia's disadvantage, adopt the character of their foster – parent.

Stockholm, Wednesday.

I have received the complete text of the Russo – German additional agreements, with commentaries of M. Larin, who is the chief brain working at the economic reconstruction of Russia. He sums up the advantage of the new agreements as follows; General Krasnoff has definitely been repudiated by the Germans, who agree to withdraw from Rostov when the Russian Government requests it.

In the Southern Caucasus the Russians will be free to drive the Turks out of Erivan and Elisavetopol, but must leave them alone in Kars and Batoum in virtue of the Brest treaty. The territory of the Ukraine will be cut down to Russia's gain. The effect of Russia's renunciation of sovereign rights to Estonia and Livonia will be, according to M. Larin, the formation of a new Baltic State, but Riga, Reval, and Windau are to have Russian quarters with Russian administration, customs, and officers.

As regards Finland, Germany will be satisfied if Finland gets a narrow corridor door to the Arctic in the western part of the Murman coast by the Norwegian frontier. M. Larin, replying to a

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question as to the possibility of a German attack on the British holding the Murman railway, replied that such a possibility is being openly discussed in the German Press, but "it is possible definitely to say one thing even if the Anglo – German war should spread to Finland, the Germans will not take Petrograd, and, in general will not enter the Petrograd province. On the other hand, they will clear out from the Pekof province, and will work through Finland. In this matter we have received absolutely definite guarantees."

In summing up the general results of the negotiations, M. Larin said that something has been done to ease the Brest Treaty: and "when we beat the Czechs and grow a little stronger we shall recover the whole of the Ukraine, which will be a further step in the revision of the Brest Treaty now begun. This process of revision will continue until Soviet Russia destroys all traces of violence done by her at Brest."

DN. September 23, 1918.

Burning Of Baku.

Fires and Massacre After Turks Occupation.

Stockholm, Saturday.

The taking of Baku by the Turks ends up a pitiful story of political intrigue. The story as seen from Russia is something like this:

Trouble in the Northern Caucuses practically cut off Baku from Russia. Connection was kept up by sea through Astrakhan. Serious help from Russia was therefore next to impossible. Further, the position of Soviet Baku was made difficult by the bitterness of race feeling and the religious feeling of the mixed population. However,

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Soviet troops did put up considerable resistance to the advancing Turks until their resolution was shaken by political unrest at home.

The political position in the town became more and more complex. Russia by the only possible way sent help against the Turks in the form of shiploads of troops and war stores from Astrakhan.

Tchiteherin's protest to Germany against Turkey violating the Brest Treaty had no effect, the Germans naturally preferring the Turks to the English as Masters of Baku. Tchitecherin in that protest prophesied the massacre which began on September 16 after the inevitable defeat of the Baku workmen, and when political intrigues had deprived them of all means of serious defense.

There have been many fires and explosions in the town and a gigantic destruction of oil supplies. But so far it is uncertain whether the successors of the Bolsheviks in Baku have carried out the original Soviet plan of the complete destruction of the oil wells in case of the capture of the town.

The loss of Baku is the most serious blow to Russia since the treachery of the Ukrainian Rada ended in the cutting of the Donetz coal supplies.

DN. September 27, 1918.

Bolshevik Evictions.

Clearing the Bourgeoisie Out of Their Homes.

Stockholm, Wednesday.

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Earlier in the year there was a marked tendency to German sympathies in the Russian bourgeoisie. It is, therefore, interesting to note that Herr Vorst, a young German "Left" journalist, with a good knowledge of Russia and Russian, now writes to the "Berliner Tageblatt" that the great majority of the Russian bourgeoisie have now given up active resistance to the Soviet Government and are merely waiting its fall from economic collapse or from external influences.

Meanwhile the revolution is steadily proceeding in its policy of treating the bourgeoisie as the bourgeoisie once treated the workers. Thus, instead of passports, the bourgeoisie are now compelled to carry work books, where is set down what they do for a living. There are penalties for traveling without. With a view to improving living conditions the workers in Moscow have set up a special housing committee, formed with branches, whose duty is to note suitable houses for workmen's dwellings and report on them and their inhabitants, who are divided into workers and "non-working parasitic elements."

War With The World.

These last may be banished from Moscow, losing such of their furniture as is essential for the dwelling place from which they have been ejected.

It is inevitable that the bourgeoisie are willing to look in any direction for help against this social experiment so immediately painful to themselves. It is inevitable also that the Soviet Government must sooner or later be at war with all non-revolutionary Governments in the world. This, I think, they are recognizing, and as a matter of fact such a state of affairs already exist, since the Brest peace can only be regarded as an armistice, and is, in fact, so regarded.

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Further, M. Joffe in Berlin only the other day openly declared that the Brest peace made future war between Russia and Germany inevitable, and his statement has since been approved by his Government.

DN October 2, 1918.

**German Roads To The East
Effect of Bulgaria's Collapse
Corridor Through The Ukraine.**

Stockholm, Monday.

If the collapse of Bulgaria cuts Germany off from Constantinople it probably means a complete alteration in Germany's attitude towards Russia. The retention of the Ukraine, instead of being an expensive luxury, will be a an expensive necessity, since through the Ukraine will lie Germany's only land route to the Caucasus, and the East, where by stirring the Mohammedans rests her last hope of seriously damaging the British Empire.

Germany's insistence on the independence of Georgia, her recognition of undefined States like Azerbaijan (Tabriz) – the geographical position of which creates a sort of artificial irredentism, eliminating Turkish desires in Northern Persia – have the perfectly obvious double intention of making trouble for us in the East and extending German influence to the cotton fields of Turkestan.

Alternative Route.

This is all very well while the road is open via Asia Minor. It is clear that Germany counted on the road because of her recent policy in,

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for example, refusing further help to General Korniloff and in preparing to withdraw troops from the Don. This policy it is now probable will be reversed. General Krasnoff becomes again important to Germany, and it is likely that she will now try to develop the northern corridor to Central Asia through the Don, the Kuban province, Northern Caucasus and Astrokhan.

Similarly, it is unlikely that Germany will carry out the rumored evacuation of Romania unless she is prepared to use Odessa alone as a port. The Ukraine thus becomes for Germany not only grainery for food supplies, but also the main line of communications to the East. Its condition, therefore, is a matter of extreme importance to the Allies.

Active revolt in various parts of the Ukraine is increasing, particularly in the district of Zvenigorod, where Colonel Kosch , of the old General Staff, holds a forest stronghold and is well provided with guns and ammunition. Kosch and his Adjutant Ensign Gindienko , have nothing in common with the Ukrainian and Bolshevik guerrilla troops except the main purpose of harrying the Germans. His troops are partially recruited from the Ukrainian regiments he formed in Kerensky's time, which first supported the Rada against the Soviets, but when the Reds joining forces with the Germans he fought both against the Germans and the Ukrainians reactionaries.

Guerrilla War.

I have before me copies of directions for partisan warfare issued by the Ukrainian Soviet, which continues to exist underground. The general aims may be judged from this paragraph.

"If every day attacks are made on enemy posts, if an unseen hand kills a single trooper, if soldiers cut the telephones, tear up the

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railways, fire food and munitions stores, if the victorious enemy is forced to guard each store, each yard of railway with an armed force, if he must send a strong convoy with each cart and each package, if his soldiers are worn out by the ceaseless alarms and excursions, spiritually depressed by danger looking out at them from every bush, if for the completion of their easy victory the Germans are forced to occupy with their troops all Russia to the Urals , and from the Black Sea to the White Sea and keep it in a state of war and neither of their armed forces will suffice them nor their people's patients."

Further "the robber peace dictated to Russia by the Hohenzollerns is intolerable. Sooner or later the whole Russian nation will rise like one man against the yoke of imperialism seeking to fasten it to the ground."

If the conditions are such after nearly 6 months occupation it must be realized how serious is the blow struck at the eastern plans of Germany by Bulgaria's defection. Germany must either use an immense force to preserve the Ukrainian corridor to the East or renounce her Eastern plans altogether.

**King – Making Postponed.
Tuesday.**

The collapse of Bulgaria and other signs of approaching German defeat are encouraging the anti– German elements in Finland. An English man but just returned says the feeling is such that the postponed election of a King may never be held. The agrarian's are firmly against a monarchy and Socialist say that a monarchy was planned by German Headquarters and not by Finland. Dissatisfaction against the Germans is growing.

The non– Socialist Finns ironically write: "the Germans promised

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Finland sugar, but since none arrives we assume it is being kept for the Coronation, when every faithful subject shall have a sweet in the mouth."

DN. October 10, 1918.

**Enemy Eastern Plans
Some Parts of Russia Being Evacuated.**

Stockholm, Tuesday.

The Germans are definitely evacuating some parts of occupied Russian territory, which apparently they are handing over to the Soviet Government. They are taking with them everything of value.

In the Government of Meghileff they are even taking door handles, empty meat tins, wire cables, etc. They have already taken 60% of the fruit crop, and besides their requisitions they are buying up all they can in the open market. The Russians protested against the removal of the cables, and the Germans replied that they considered all State and Czarist property as spoils of war.

In both the Moghileff and Vitebek Governments there has been a considerable exodus of landowners and the propertied classes. Others are making preparations to resist the return of the Soviets. Police are being trained for military purposes, and at some places, such as Lepel trenches are being dug for defense.

Besides the need of men, another reason suggested for the German willingness to depart is to be found in a recent order issued to Austro - German troops in the Ukraine forbidding any intercourse with the Jews, the authorities obviously fearing a Jewish revolutionary agitation.

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M. Joffe, the Soviet representative in Berlin, has addressed a note of protest to the German Government concerning the formation of a so – called Southern Army presently to number 20,000 men with staffs in Odessa, Pakof, Minsk, Krakoff, Gomel, Zhitomir, Rovno, and Kamenetz-Podolak. Five armored trains are being prepared for this Army in Odessa. The organizers are said to be connected with General Krasnoff and the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolayevitich.

DN. October 11, 1918.

Rasputin's Friend.

Proposal to Found New Church to Support the Soviet.

Stockholm, Wednesday.

The struggle between the State Church and the Soviet in revolutionary Russia is enlivened by that notorious ex-horse thief and friend of Rasputin, the scamp of an Archbishop, Barnabas of Tobolak, who was recently arrested for the fraudulent sale of Church property.

Rasputin's old boon companion conceived of the brilliant idea of saving his skin by proposing to found a new Church, the object of which was to promote loyalty to the Soviet Government. In making this suggestion he criticized the present Church and some of the dignitaries with considerable freedom. A protocol signed by himself and the official interlocutor was printed in the "Izvestia" with scornful comments both on Barnabas and the subjects of his criticism.

Barnabas himself is so well known that his "revelations" cannot do much to discredit the Hierarchy, which has been already deprived of its old prestige by the reverberation of the Rasputin

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story. His proposal to form a new church and his promise "that half Russia would follow him and he would lead them to the Bolsheviks" will remain a merely psychological curiosity.

DN. October 16, 1918.

**Finland & Ukraine Ferment.
German Soldiers Carrying Red Flags.**

Stockholm, Monday.

The departure of German troops from Finland does not coincide with any sort of reconciliation between the Finnish parties. The "White Terror" was marked on Saturday by the condemnation of nine Socialist members of the Landtag to death and of others to long terms of imprisonment. Among the death sentences is one on a Finnish newspaper editor who, although a Socialist, actually opposed the Red Revolt.

On Saturday four more death sentences on members of the Landtag were announced, together with the arrest of Senator Tanner on the grounds of a letter of introduction to the secretary of the Swedish Socialist Party, given by Tanner to a "Red," who, being condemned to 12 years imprisonment, succeeded in escaping.

But if there are smoldering embers in Finland there is something very much like open flame in the Ukraine. It is difficult to pick one's way through the conflicting reports but it seems that the moment of general revolt, long expected, is now very near. In some parts of the frontier German soldiers crossed the demarcation line into Russian territory, bearing red flags. In other parts it is persistently large bodies of German troops have definitely turned

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Bolshevik. Possibly matters will be brought to a head in view of the threatened German evacuation of the Ukraine and the approaching peace.

DN. October 19, 1918.

Germany's Impotence.

Bolshevik Decision to Renew Revolutionary Agitation.

Stockholm, Thursday.

There can be no clear proof of the genuineness of the Bolsheviks belief that a German revolution is beginning than the fact that they have dared to ostensibly break the clause of the Brest treaty whereby it was agreed that the governments of Russia and Germany were not to agitate against each other. They would not have done this unless they had been convinced that the German Government was already impotent to revenge itself. They did it in the most solemn matter through the mouth of the Executive Committee, promising the German people help to finish the revolution once it is fairly begun.

The Soviet is preparing in the immediate future to publish correspondence between the Kaiser and the Czar, which includes a delightful letter describing the Kaiser's trip to Palestine, and complaining that stupid people would insist upon seeing a political motive in it. "Every Christian," he says, "has the right to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; why not I?" Immediately afterwards he points out to the Czar what opportunities the Baghdad Railway gives for sending troops against England in the East.

The Soviet announces that they are publishing those letters, with

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photographs of the originals, and added; "According to the Berne Convention, Kaiser Wilhelm has the right to demand royalties on the proceeds of the publication. He may yet need them. We, on principle, shall not refuse them."

DN. October 24, 1918.

The Terror.

Appalling Conditions in Russia.

Famine threatening A Whole Nation

Stockholm, Tuesday.

I dined last night with Major Wardwell of the American Red Cross, who had arrived the same day from Russia. He was left in charge of the Red Cross Mission when Colonel Robbins went to America last May with the the Soviet Governments economic proposals. He has been able throughout to preserve friendly relations with the Soviet officials and consequently has been able to be of immense service to the civilian and other prisoners at Moscow where the Soviet gave him a pass enabling him to visit the prisons daily, taking food, etc.

He says the the condition of the prisoners was very bad, but he succeeded in getting most of them into less crowded and better cells. The main difficulty was food. The officials introduced a regulation whereby all food brought to the prison was to be divided equally, which, though fair in theory, did not work in practice because most Russians simply stopped bringing food. In this respect also the position has improved.

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Lenin's Doctor.

He says that in spite of the recent slight increase in the bread supply the food conditions both in Petrograd and Moscow are appalling. As things now stand many million of persons are doomed to death by starvation. People are dying in the streets and everywhere in Moscow horses are dropping dead. In Petrograd there are hardly any horses left.

I asked about the truth of the "mass terror."

Major Wardwell said: "As for the mass character of the terror, I can only say it seemed to me that the mass took no interest in it at all. All that is written in the papers seem to have no effect upon them. But there's no question as to the reality of the terror itself, which consisted chiefly of the general feeling of insecurity. The people are genuinely terrified.

Lenin's doctor told him he should go into the country. Lenin asked the doctor to recommend a suitable place. The doctor refused, and said he would rather not know where Lenin went, naturally feeling that if anything should happen he would be shot on supposition of complicity.

Callous Girls.

The wild scenes of terror have primarily been in the provinces. The thing that made the most terrible impression on me was the indifference of young girls in the Extraordinary Commission.

"They seem to be absolutely unaware that they were dealing with human lives. Relatives would come in and inquire from one and then another the fate of prisoners. A young girl would turn up a ledger as if consulting an account and replied: ""Shot," or

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"Unknown," with the most utter disregard of the affect on the unfortunate questionnaire.

"Sometimes in an outer room of the Extraordinary Commission half a dozen persons would be in hysteria at once. It seemed these girls lost sight of humanity altogether. For them the prisoners were counter – revolutionaries and not human beings."

I asked whether the terror had ended.

Major Wardwell replied: "on the whole yes, but it is naturally impossible to tell how soon it will start again."

Commissions License.

He said the most interesting thing in the internal situation has been the struggle, more or less open between the Government and the Extraordinary Commission. He says it was quite clear the Extraordinary Commission was not under proper control, and was often able to settle Government policy by facing the Government with accomplished facts.

Thus Lenin appealed for the release of an acquaintance who had been arrested. The Commission promptly shot him, and were then prepared to consider an appeal.

Major Wardwell says Peters is an honest man in himself, but dangerous as a political institution.

As a lawyer Major Wardwell disapproved of the Extraordinary Commission and pointed out to Peters that whereas there was an elaborate machine for getting people into prison, there was no machine whatever for getting them out again, with the results of innumerable cases of injustice.

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Major Wardwell believes Lenin opposed the continuance of the terror. This is correlated here, where there are rumors of a possible amnesty in Russia.

DN. October 29, 1918.

**Bolsheviks And The Allies.
Views on a League of Nations.
English Prisoners.**

Stockholm, Monday.

Exposure of the weakness of German imperialism, and the belief that the war may end without a general convulsion, are having an effect in Russia. Thus many of the same moderates who wish to curtail the sinister liberty of the Extraordinary Commission are looking ahead, and would welcome any chance of ending a modus vivendi with the Allies. They reason that if the war ends, so does the need for an Eastern front, and that the Allies, finding that the population as a whole is unwilling to take arms against the Soviet, will not be anxious to undertake the occupation of a hostile country. They further recognize "that the world of revolution may be late, or even not come at all, in which case some give and take will be necessary if a Socialist State is to exist peacefully with non-- Socialist laborers."

The swashbucklers.

For this reason they are anxious not to lose any chance of reestablishing relations. To the very last minute they tried to persuade the American Red Cross not to leave Russia, regardless

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of the state of war existing between the Soviet and American troops on the Archangel front. Opposed to them more moderate counselors are out and out swashbucklers of the Revolution, who believe that in the fight to finish the Soviet will find Allies in the upheavals of the Central Empires, and that increasingly serious war in Russia will have a similar effect among the Allies. Those men laugh at all ideas of compromise.

Thus Bukharin, DC. Tatian of the pugnacious Left wing of the Communist Party, even compares the League of Nations with the Holy Alliance "English Ministers, the German Government, the Washington Cabinet – all these fighters for the League of Nation stand actually not for a league of peoples, but for a league of capitalistic States, a league of Imperialistic Governments."

No Compromise.

Realizing perhaps, that a League of Nations does indeed assume some degree of uniformity in the Governments concerned, in so far as they must be responsible to the people, Bukharin goes further, and assumes that just as the League of Nations could have no place for the Kaiser, so it also can have no place for a Socialistic Government. Wherefore he argues that the League is inspired by the fear of revolution. For him and his followers no compromises is thinkable. Just as he was opposed to the signing of the Brest Peace, he now would oppose the idea of a compromise with the Allies.

Litvinoff has left Stockholm by boat for Petrograd, taking with him full particulars of Mr. Marsden, the "Morning Post, correspondent, who was imprisoned at Petrograd, and Mr. Rennet, who was imprisoned in Moscow, promising to do his utmost to secure their immediate release.

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DN. November 2, 1918.

**Bolshevism In Germany.
Wholesale Desertions from Army.
A Military Coup?**

Stockholm, Thursday.

I have had a talk with a neutral who was just returned from Berlin. He says that conditions in Germany afford an exact parallel with those in Russia before the March Revolution. All classes alike are dissatisfied, and the better educated classes are as outspoken as the workpeople.

My informant says the Scheidemann Party is so thoroughly discredited that there is no chance of a Coalition Ministry lasting as long as it did in Russia. The leaders of the Left Parties expect to have the power in their hands in the immediate future. The "Spartacus Party" has passed resolutions declaring that the time has come for action. The Independent Socialist are without a daily paper, but the circulation of their weekly "Mitteilungsblatt" has risen to 75,000. The illegal paper of the Spartacus Party, simultaneously printed in different towns, has an enormous circulation.

Huge quantities of leaflets are also being distributed in the streets. I have one of these leaflets before me. It is different in character, but not in tendency, from the Bolshevik leaflets with which I was familiar in Petrograd last summer, demanding a general amnesty and the formation of Soviets.

Prices in the Berlin restaurants have suddenly soared, and the position of the poorer population is desperate. Desertions from the

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colors are comparable only with those from the Russian Army last year. The military police now make a practice of surrounding whole quarters and searching every house in a vain effort to put an end to it.

The person I have quoted was told six weeks ago that Ludendorff would go, and from the same source heard that the Kaiser would abdicate in favor of some son other than the Crown Prince. Since the first prophecy has been realized, he expects the fulfillment of the second. He thinks, however, that the military party will not give way without a struggle, and will probably take some step which will precipitate the events.

DN. November 7, 1918.

The Soviets Note.

Moderate Tendencies in the Ascendant.

Stockholm, Tuesday.

The announcement that the Soviet Government through neutrals, has offered to come to terms with the Entente will surprise no one who has closely followed the course of Russian politics. It must be considered together with the fact that the Government has taken steps to recover control over the Extraordinary Commission.

Litvinoff's return to Russia is probably also not without its influence. He has returned with the definite intention of working for moderation in internal politics and for a rapprochement with the Entente.

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The retirement of the Germans from White Russia is mechanically enlarging the Soviet Dominion. The Soviet Western frontier has now been extended to Moghileff. It will be the same with other provinces, but I believe it might be possible to get the Soviet to agree to recognize the independence of the Baltic States, and Finland and the Ukraine, thus at least ensuring that they would not be invaded by Soviet troops so that their fate would actually depend on the will of the population. The Soviet, of course, would agree in the belief that these States would eventually join Russia of their own accord. Whether they would do so or not would depend on whether the conditions of life improved fast enough after peace to allay general discontent, which is the only possible basis of a mass revolution.

I hesitate in telegraphing a Finnish report that Zinovieff has resigned and has been succeeded by Lunacharsky with Gorky as Commissary for Internal Affairs, but if this is true it is further proof of the victory of moderate tendencies.

DN. November 14, 1918.

Bolsheviks' Power.

Influence of the Spartacus Group.

Stockholm, Tuesday.

It is stated that M. Joffe, the Bolshevik Envoy, is returning to Berlin. This, if true, means that the Spartacus Group has sufficient influence to make it desirable from the point of view of Scheidemann and Haase, to give them a basis of agitation in the banishment of the Russian Ambassador.

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Today's telegrams announced that there is no Bolshevism in Berlin, with the exception of the Spartacus Group, which is very weak. I remember myself a year and a half ago sending similar telegrams about the weakness of the extremist in Russia. There the extremist grew to be the strongest party in the country, owing mainly to two causes: first, the weakening of the moderate parties by the lunatic tactics of the capital right, and second, to the continuance of causes of discontent, principally the war.

The latter gave the Army, and so pretty well the whole younger male population, into the hands of the extremist. It remains to be seen if the Right parties in Germany are capable of learning wisdom from the Russian Revolution's history.

Empty stomachs and the want of paper, boots, and clothes are conditions making for the development of opposition to the present Government, which in any case, justly or unjustly will have to bear the responsibility for the peace terms. The Russians, of course, believe that nothing can prevent the revolution from following its natural course, and in the near future passing into the hands of the extremist.

DN. November 15, 1918.

**Germany's New Rulers.
Will the Revolution Turn Bolshevik?
Power of Liebknecht.**

Stockholm, Wednesday.

The most important question for Europe today is, Will the German revolution turn Bolshevik or not. Lenin has made what looks like a

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bad tactical mistake in pointing out at this early stage that Bolshevism means for the German war – weary soldiers not peace, but renewed war.

True, he invites them to fight not for any large political purpose, but for bread, pointing out that the Ukraine, Don, and Kuban have bread enough to feed both the Soviet Republic and Germany. He asked them to collaborate with the Soviet in the immediate overthrow of the Cossack General Krasnoff. It seems more probable that when the news of the revolution reaches the German soldiers in the Ukraine they will more likely return immediately to Germany than undertake a further Eastern advance.

Bolshevik Agitators.

There is an undoubted danger from the point of view of the present German Government in the fact that the Generals in the occupied provinces of Russia are withholding the news of the revolution from the men. Their motives are obvious, but the situation is like that in the Russian Army where a similar withholding of the news was one of the most potent basis of the subsequent hostility to the officers.

On the other hand, the moment the Eastern frontier is open nothing will stop the flood of Bolshevik agitators, who was observed last year, seem to be made of steel and india rubber, are absolutely untireable, and have four times the energy of ordinary human politicians.

The main factor in deciding the future of the German revolution will not be agitation but bread.

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Russia's Example.

Russia has at least supplied Germany with the form in which the political struggle will work itself out. But Soviets as was clear last year in Russia, may have any political coloring. This revolution last November was only possible because the Bolsheviks had already obtained a majority within the Soviets inspite of the fact that up to that moment the verification of mandates was in the hands of opposing parties. Therefore the Soviets in Berlin, and even a German Soviet Republic may not be necessarily Bolshevik. Whether they become Bolshevik or not will depend entirely on the feeling of the masses. It is difficult to estimate how strong the German Bolsheviks are. The Russians believe them very strong indeed.

The Spartacus Group.

Half the present German Government supported the war, and with it lost their popularity. The strength of the Government lies in the fact that it includes Independents, who opposed the war throughout. The Spartacus group will accordingly direct its main efforts to discrediting the latter for entering such a coalition. Nothing more significant has occurred than Liebknecht's first speech on his release when scarcely bothering with the Hohenzollern's, he wound up to the climax: "Down with with Scheidemann." Three weeks ago the Spartacus group at a secret meeting, decided temporarily to work with the Independents since the overthrow of the Hohenzollern was a common aim. The reasons for this temporary collaboration have gone, and these parties are now definitely opposed over the question of collaboration with Scheidemann. The whole weight of Russian influence naturally goes to the support of Liebknecht. It is difficult, however, to see what he can offer the masses, since unlike Lenin a week ago, he

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is without the main lever of dissatisfaction with a continuance of war.

DN. November 16, 1918.

**European Unrest.
Agitation For a Republic in Sweden.**

Stockholm, Friday.

It seems possible that here also important political events are imminent. Last night a great meeting was held in the Folks' House, where M. Branting and others spoke on the political situation. A resolution was passed which included in its minimum demands that the Swedish State form shall be Republican in case a majority of the people express themselves in a referendum in favor of such a change.

The Swedish extremist were enormously outnumbered. The Branting Party is for exclusively democratic methods. The extremist are quite obviously trying to provoke an open conflict. Today their paper, the "Politiken," comes out with huge headlines calling for immediate action. Yesterday they published a cartoon with – so it seemed to me – the direct object of getting their papers suppressed.

On Sunday they are holding their own meeting. There following in Sweden is so small that while peace lasts they would stand no chance whatever in a referendum. M. Branting's Party absolutely controls the situation.

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DN. November 23, 1918.

Bolsheviks And The Germans.

Futile Efforts to Reach an Understanding.

Stockholm, Friday.

The relations between the Soviet Government and the German Revolution are of the most indefinite kind. The optimism of Moscow seems to have outrun the facts, and the Soviet is making frantic efforts to get into touch with its Berlin sympathizers.

I have before me stenographic reports of two conversations by direct wire. The first is between Radek in Moscow and Joffe, the Soviet envoy in Berlin, who was held up at Borisoff unable to persuade the local German authorities to let him proceed to Berlin. The second is between Radek and a representative of the German Soldiers Soviet named Fisher, at Kovno.

The German Soviet.

In reply to Radek as to how the revolution in Germany is progressing, Fisher says: "With us everything went off in complete quiet and good order. A Soviet of soldiers delegates is sitting at Kovno. We are awaiting instructions from Berlin, where there is a big Soldiers Soviet for all Germany. We are deeply interested that there should be no sort of undisciplined acts. We salute the officers, but have taken all rights of command into our own hands. The whole press is in the hands of the Soldiers Soviet. We have informed the officers of this, and asked them if they are prepared to work under our control. The General Staff at Kovno is keeping quiet, of course, not on account of its feelings, but by force of circumstances. In any case, they are taking no steps against us."

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Agitators For West Front.

Radek next refers to a train – load of bread the Russian Soviet proposes to send to Germany, and also mentions that "English and French agitators are ready to proceed to the West Front to persuade the English and French soldiers to follow your example." Fisher explains that nothing can be done without orders from Berlin.

Radek goes on to mention the great enthusiasm caused in Moscow and Petrograd by the German revolution, and expresses the hope the German and Russian soldiers will go forward hand in hand – "that together we shall build a new and better world on the ruins of the old."

The fear of trouble in the Baltic provinces is not unfounded. It is reported in Reval, where the populace demonstrated, that seven were killed and 50 wounded by German soldiers, led by their officers.

Late at night on November 11, after a meeting in the Kremlin, a notice was issued warning the people against nursing too great hopes of any immediate development of the German revolution. So far Joffe has not been allowed to return to Berlin, and the Russian Embassy in the Unter den Linden is tenanted only by an excited porter.

DN. November 26, 1918.

**Russia And A Monarchy.
Object of New Army of the Cadets.
Miliukoff's Plans.**

Stockholm, Monday.

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M.Miliukof, disappointed in his hopes of German help owing to the German collapse, is now busy recovering his position in the Cadet Party, with a new organization. Interviewed by a Kieff paper, he described the steps being taken to unite the numerous independent Governments on the fringes of Russia.

Some of these Governments, he says, are undesirable in their present form. Thus the Uta Government has a Socialist majority, and recognizes the Old Constituent Assembly. He thinks, however, there are hopes of changing the Uta Government. An agreement with General Krasnoff is probable, and representatives of the Cadets are also with the volunteer army.

As for the Cadets, views on the expression of the people's will – that is, the new Constituent Assembly--Miliukoff said they purposely left that an open question. This is interesting in connection with the appeal for recruits issued by the initiators of the Southern Army, which states that the object of that army is plainly and simply the reestablishment of the Monarchy in Russia.

DN. December 3,1918.

Russia Asking For Peace.

Litvinoff Empowered To Negotiate.

An Offer To Britain.

Stockholm, Sunday.

Mr. Litvinoff arrived at Stockholm last night and visited me today. His official appointment is that of Commercial Attaché for Scandinavia, but in reality he is empowered to enter into negotiations, should any be proposed, between Great Britain and Russia.

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He said to me: "We want peace. I do not know what the Allies want from us, but we are prepared to make concessions on all questions excepting those concerning internal affairs.

"An immediate payment of debts is impossible, but a moratorium might be arranged on compromise lines involving the grant of commercial concessions, the payment of such gold as is in the country, mining concessions, etc. Also we have flax and other raw materials which could immediately be delivered, and forest timber. We, on the other hand, want machines which only England can supply."

British Prisoners.

M. Litvinoff further stated that in Moscow he had personally visited the British prisoners, and reports that at Petrograd one Englishman is in prison, and at Moscow about 12, including a Naval and some Army officers captured in the north, and a number of persons implicated in the alleged anti—Soviet conspiracy. They told him that conditions had much improved, but complained of boredom. They were receiving parcels freely. The interned English, of military age, have been released, and are freely walking about Moscow. M. Litvinoff had promised to communicate with the prisoners relatives, but the list of addresses was in his diplomatic valise, which had been seized by the Finns.

DN. December 4, 1918.

Baltic Firing.

Russian Vessels Shelled Near Petrograd by Finnish Artillery.

Stockholm, Tuesday.

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News of an attempted Russian landing at Bjorko south of Vilarg and near the entrance to the bay of Kronstadt is circulated by the Finnish. I am told that the Russians made no attempt to land, and that the boats on which the Finnish batteries opened fire were engaged in mine – laying with a view to protecting Petrograd against possible British naval action.

DN. December 21, 1918.

Bolshevism On The Baltic.

Soviet Troops in Wake of German Retreat.

The March On Riga.

Stockholm, Thursday.

Reports of the advance of Soviet troops in the Baltic provinces contradicts each other, mostly on the question of the attitude of the population. It should be remembered that before the revolution these provinces were far more developed than Russia itself in revolutionary organization. Many of these provinces have taken a most active part in the Soviet Government in Russia.

Riga and Reval are both strong Social Democratic Centers. Lett troops and Lett revolutionaries who have returned from exile have been steady supporters of the Soviets in Russia. While in Moscow on many occasions I had an opportunity of hearing the reports of workmen from the Baltic provinces who had succeeded in getting through the German lines and they, without exception, prophesied that the moment the Germans left the Soviets would spring up again like mushrooms at their heels, which seems a not inaccurate picture of what is now happening.

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Soviets Re-Established.

The Estonian Government reports that the population opposes the reestablishment of the Soviets, but this contradicts their previous appeal for help when they announced that there was a Bolshevik majority in the Reval Noticeable Council. It is now reported that there was a pro – Soviet demonstration in Reval even after the arrival of the British squadron. Four months before the German collapse the Germans were urging the local bourgeoisie to form troops to take the place of the Army of occupation. Recruiting, however, was a complete failure and the small Russian counter – revolutionary army with headquarters were asked. Pakov and Rejitsa seems to have already disappeared.

The Soviet troops are moving so fast that it is impossible to believe that they are meeting with serious resistance or are moving through a hostile country. After the reestablishment of the Soviet in Dvinsk, where the departure of the German troops seems to have been followed by an immediate outburst of Red Flag festivities, the next definite news was that Kreuzburg was in Soviet hands.

Message To Riga.

I consider it most probable that the Soviet troops are simply Letts and other natives of the Baltic provinces, who have long been hoping to have the chance of going home and taking with them the principles for which many of them have died in Russia.

The speed of their advance, as reported by the Estonian Government of Reval, is enough to suggest that it is not a military advance, but simply the reestablishment of the Soviet movement.

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Soviet frontier Guards are now reported within a short distance of Riga. Today a Swede, who has returned from Riga, says in the "Dagens Nybeter" that Soviet troops are reported to be already within 10 Swedish miles of the town. It is significant that appeals to form an "iron division" to resist Bolshevism have failed to get more than 2000 men in Riga and all the other 1000 in Mitau.

